

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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#### THE NEW POPE, BENEDICT XV, ELECTED TO SUCCEED THE LATE PIUS X

[Cardinal Giacomo della Chiesa, Archbishop of Bologna, who was elected on September 3 to succeed the late Pope Pius X, is as little known to the world as was his illustrious predecessor, when, as Cardinal Sarto, he was elevated to the Pontiff's chair. Unlike his predecessor, however, he is of noble blood, being a son of the Marchese della Chiesa. He is in his sixtieth year,—a comparatively young man for Pope,—and has been a Cardinal only since May 30 of the present year. The new Pope, who takes his title Benedict chiefly because he was Archbishop of Bologna, the last prelate of which was Pope Benedict XIV, is known as the assistant to Cardinal Merry del Val, Papal Secretary of State, and a confirmed enemy of Modernism. His first public utterance, issued on September 10, was an exhortation to all Roman Catholics throughout the world and to the belligerent governments of Europe to pray and work for the return of peace. He is a man of very active mind and is declared to be a friend of more cordial relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal)



# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The  
World at  
War*

The only consolation that people of intelligence and normal minds can derive, as they view the European struggle, now entering upon its third month, arises from the belief that this war must result in the downfall of militarism and imperialism, as sinister forces that overshadow our modern civilization. This most colossal war of all history has already involved, directly or indirectly, the activities and interests of not less than three-quarters of the inhabitants of the earth. Austria begins with a fierce attack upon Servia. Germany brings the most irresistible military momentum ever employed to the crushing of Belgium, in order the more rapidly to invade France by way of the comparatively unfortified France-Belgian frontier. France invades the parts of Germany that were once the French departments of Alsace and Lorraine. Austria invades Russian Poland. Russia invades that part of Germany known as East Prussia, and throws immense masses of soldiery into the Austrian province of Galicia, which is principally Polish. England demands observance of the treaties that protect Belgium, and enters the lists against Germany.

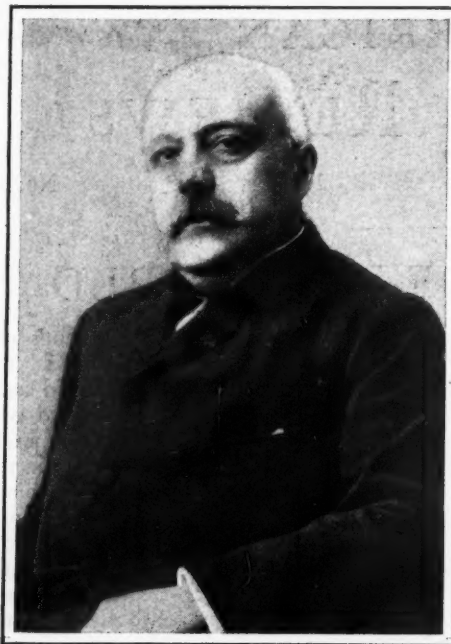
*All the  
Continents  
Involved*

Every part of the British Empire voluntarily joins the United Kingdom as a militant ally. Thus Canada, occupying half of North America, is legally as much at war as is Scotland, although not at present so intensely. The same thing is true of Australia, New Zealand, the South African Union, and Newfoundland. All these countries, while having political connection with Great Britain, enjoy free government and form in no sense parts of the military system of the United Kingdom. Yet they are sustaining England with firmness and unanimity, of their own free will. The princes of the native states of India have without exception made voluntary offers of men and money to the British Government, and India is therefore also involved

*The  
Hesitant  
Neutrals*

in the war. Japan now has thousands of troops attacking the German stronghold at Kiau-chau, on the Chinese coast; and in case of need Japan is undoubtedly ready to co-operate far more extensively in the general war than she has thus far been called upon to do. The operations of Japan involve to some extent the use of Chinese territory, and China's acquiescence brings her into the position of having failed to maintain her neutrality,—thus antagonizing Germany in the assaults of the Allies upon the outlying posts and colonies of the German Empire.

The Turkish Empire is profoundly agitated by the war, and must be vitally affected by its results. The army of the Turks has been mobilized and placed under the direction of German officers, while two important war-ships of the German navy, which had taken refuge in the Bosphorus, have hoisted the Turkish flag and are supposed to be commanded and engineered by German naval officers in Turkish employ. The Turkish Government, however, has been hesitating to act,—through fear of England and Russia and because such action would almost inevitably have the consequence of projecting Italy into the war as an ally of England and France. Italian interests, indeed, are involved in so many ways, and are regarded as so largely bound up with the cause of the Allies as against the plans of Austria and Germany, that a reorganization of the Italian cabinet, in harmony with prevailing sentiment, would almost certainly bring Italy into the field. There has been a demand in Italy for a new cabinet, under the present Prime Minister, to include leaders of all parties, thus following the example of France. The Government of Rumania has allowed it to be known that its course would be in accordance with that of Italy; and Greece would declare war at once against Turkey and Austria in case the Turk should take the field. The posi-



ANTONIO SALANDRA, ITALIAN PREMIER

(Signor Salandra, who had been formerly Finance Minister, was made the head of the new cabinet last March, when Italy's leading statesman, Giolitti, resigned with his colleagues. There is much talk of a new cabinet under Salandra's lead, which will include Giolitti and the heads of all the principal parties, with a view to dealing in the broadest possible way with the international problems affected by the European war.)

tion of Bulgaria has been an enigma; yet Bulgaria would seem to be sacrificing everything if she sided with the Turks against the other Balkan states and thus aided Austria, whose initiative led to the crippling of Bulgaria in the war between the Balkan allies. The whole of Africa and the most of Asia are not only affected, but they are directly involved in this great war. There is no spot in Europe that is not profoundly affected, whether or not it has assumed the status of belligerency. While Spain is nominally neutral, and is likely to be able to maintain that position, it is undoubtedly true that Spain regards her interests as best conserved by good understandings with England and France. Portugal is definitely allied with England. Denmark wishes to recover Schleswig-Holstein.

*America  
Alone Is  
Exempt*

Thus the United States of America, and the growing republics of South America, must be regarded as the only important countries in the whole world that are both neutral and uninvolved, by virtue of fortunate circumstances. It has sometimes been hard to demonstrate clearly

the radical difference between the American international system and the European. The American system is non-military, non-imperialistic, wholly popular, and not entangled with alliances or secret diplomacy. This American system has often shown inconsistencies in its development; and in practise it has often deviated greatly from its theories. Yet it stands out at the present time in a way that affords a favorable opportunity for some immediate comment upon it, by way of the contrasts it presents and the lessons it teaches. George Washington and the early fathers cautioned this country to maintain an open, independent attitude towards all other countries, and not to be in league or alliance or conspiracy with one or more countries against other individual, or allied sovereignties. Americans as individual citizens were encouraged to know how to defend themselves and their country in time of need; but our wise statesmen of the early period warned us against standing armies and the arbitrary militarism that assumes to dominate civil authority and to invade the rights of citizens.

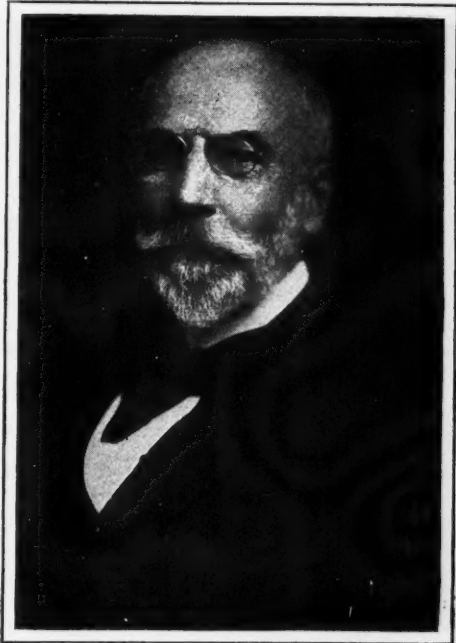
*Success of the  
American  
System* Our influence has had marked effect upon the other republics of the Western Hemisphere. Our principles did not save us from the agony of a terrible civil war, nor have the Latin-American countries, in their progress towards the ideals of permanence and stability, been fated to escape a vast deal of civil strife and some unfortunate struggles with each other for the settlement of national boundaries. Nevertheless, neither North America nor South America has adopted militarism, and the whole Western Hemisphere makes progress upon the general principles laid down by such leaders as Washington and Jefferson. The United States has led the world in the settlement of disputed questions by peaceable methods. We have some fortifications for the protection of our seaports and coasts against naval attack, but no fortifications or defenses against our neighbors on the north or on the south. Nor have the South American republics any such barriers or defenses against one another. We have no enmities or grudges against any other nation. We have no ambitions to gain at the expense of any other government or people. We have abstained from annexing Cuba, and we have not exploited the Philippines in the smallest degree for our own benefit, but are, on the contrary, developing those islands and their people as rapidly as possible for self-government and ultimate independence.

*As Shown In  
Recent  
Mexican Policy*

We have given evidence to the whole world of disinterestedness in the course our government has pursued towards the situation in Mexico. So great were American interests in that country at the outbreak of the civil strife that followed the retirement of President Diaz that we might have presented very powerful and plausible reasons for occupying and administering Mexico and for the subsequent annexation of its northern states. From the standpoint of the immediate welfare of the regions involved, this might have been the best course to pursue. But from the larger standpoint, our Government has been right in maintaining the view that Mexico belongs to the Mexicans and that they must work out their own salvation through hard experience. Austria undoubtedly achieved an admirable triumph of administration in Bosnia for a period of more than twenty years; but all the good that was accomplished has been worse than undone by the consequences of Austria's recent annexation of a region in which she had no rights except those of a neighborly helper whose presence was needed only for temporary purposes, very much as ours was needed in Cuba. Although our recent occupation of Vera Cruz might not have been technically consistent with our theoretical attitude, it was wholly consistent with our underlying purpose, which was the use of our influence to enable the best sense and judgment of Mexico to assert themselves and bring some kind of order out of chaos.

*Our Flag Comes  
Down at  
Vera Cruz*

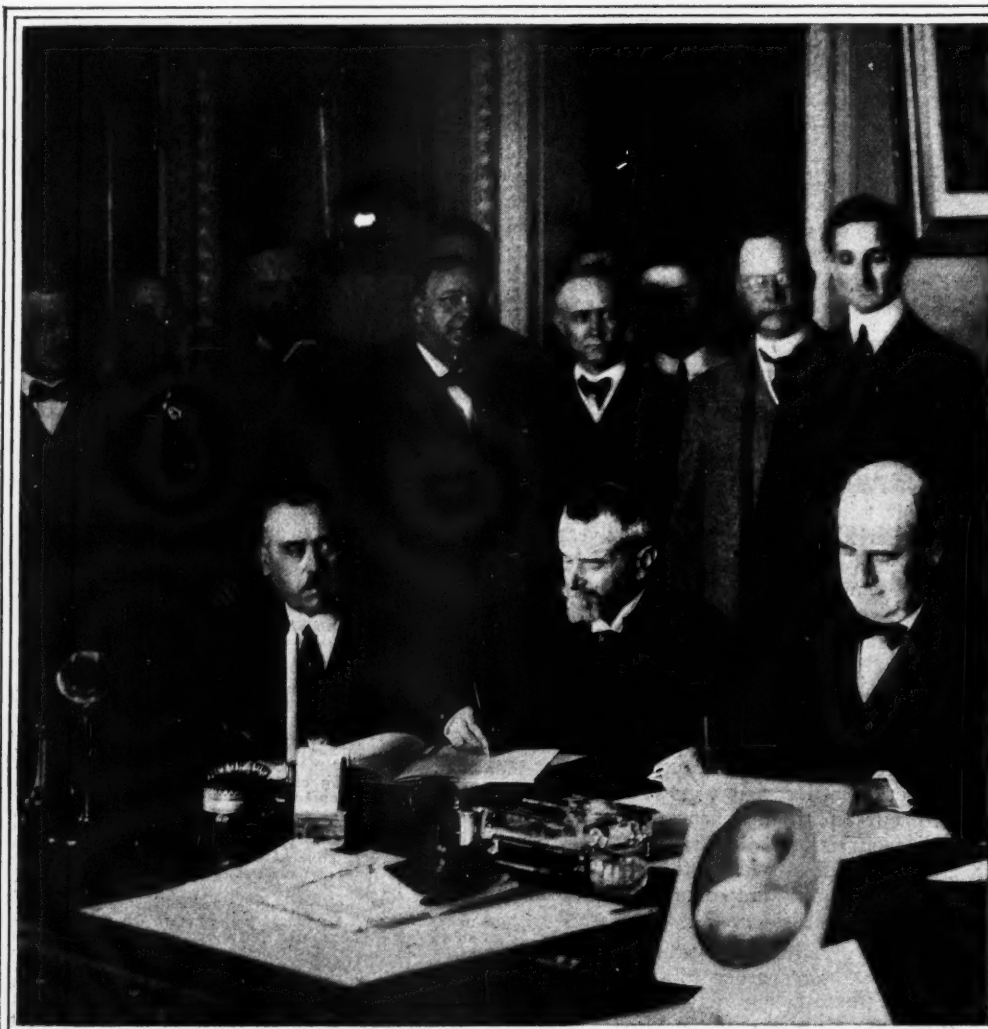
Last month came President Wilson's order to General Funston and our naval commanders to turn Vera Cruz over to the Mexican Government and return to this country. It was not strange that many people should have thought the withdrawal premature. But it is always necessary in taking steps of this kind to consider sentiment. It gave the final and convincing proof to Mexico and the whole of South America that our Government had been sincere from the first in its disclaimers of any designs upon Mexico, and in its desire for the peace and welfare of our neighbors on the south. While it was evident that Mexico was not perfectly pacified, and that the course of its governmental affairs must be difficult for some time to come, the period of civil warfare seemed to be at an end. We had dealt carefully and scrupulously with local conditions at Vera Cruz, had notably improved sanitary and industrial conditions, had administered justice promptly and skilfully,



MR. PAUL FULLER, PEACE ENVOY IN MEXICO

(Mr. Fuller is a well known lawyer of New York, who was sent quietly to Mexico several weeks ago by President Wilson, as his representative, to meet the Provisional President, Carranza, at the capital and to report upon Mexican conditions with a view to determining American action. We had agreed, in a protocol signed by our representatives at the Niagara Falls mediation conference, to withdraw our forces from Vera Cruz and recognize the new Mexican Government, but left the dates to be determined. Mr. Fuller's advices confirmed President Wilson's judgment that the time had come for announcing our withdrawal and the restoration of Vera Cruz to Mexican authority. In like manner it was decided that we should give formal recognition to the government established provisionally under General Carranza, which is to be followed by an election. Thus Mr. Fuller represents the American system in its practical methods of dealing with conditions by mediation and conference, in a neighborly spirit)

and had so conducted the business of the port as to be able to account accurately for all money received and to turn a handsome balance over to the authorities established under General Carranza in the Mexican capital. The mediation of Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, at an earlier stage, in the Mexican situation, had undoubtedly done much to aid in bringing about the withdrawal of Huerta and the lessening of the barbarities which had marked the civil strife until its closing stages. Thus in South America there is a much better understanding of "Uncle Sam's" good intentions than had prevailed a few years ago. This better feeling coincides with the unexpected opportunities for trade and intercourse that are forced upon us by the European war. The principal South American states have established very friendly relations with one another, are not arming or fortify-



Photograph by Clinebush Studio, Washington, D. C.

THE SIGNING OF THE SO-CALLED "BRYAN PEACE TREATIES" BY THE BRITISH, FRENCH, AND SPANISH  
SEPTEMBER 15, IN THE PRESENCE

(Seated left to right, the Spanish Ambassador, Riano; the French Ambassador, Jusserand; Secretary Bryan; cabinet officers are, from left to right, Secretary Daniels, Attorney-General Gregory (Precisely behind Secretary Garrison,

ing against their neighbors, and have created no conditions, whether military or political, that might in some contingency lead to the sudden outbreak of war with one another.

*Friendship Is  
What the Monroe  
Doctrine Means*

In view of recent events, a fresh meaning is given to certain phrases in President Wilson's message to Congress last December. Take, for instance, the following sentences: "We are the friends of constitutional government in America. We are more than its friends, we are its champions; because in no other way

can our neighbors, to whom we would wish in every way to make proof of our friendship, work out their own development in peace and liberty." In our own comment at that time upon this part of President Wilson's message, we made the following remarks, which are pertinent to-day as helping to explain what we mean by the development of the American system:

This, of course, is the real meaning of the Monroe Doctrine. We claim no overlordship, but we assume a neighborly responsibility for the sake of the best future of weaker countries during their developing stage, and because our security is





AMBASSADORS, AND THE CHINESE MINISTER, IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AT WASHINGTON ON OF THE ASSEMBLED CABINET

the British Ambassador, Spring-Rice; and the Chinese minister, Kai Fu Shah. Besides Mr. Bryan, eight other Ambassadors (Jusserand), Secretary Redfield, Secretary McAdoo, Postmaster-General Burleson, Secretary Houston, and Secretary Wilson)

best preserved by having them grow into well-governed and independent neighbors, rather than relapse into the status of European colonies or that of crude dictatorships tempered by assassination. By general consent, our foremost authorities are seeking to have South America understand us better, and to know that the Monroe Doctrine is theirs quite as much as ours, and that when it ceases to serve their interests it is not likely to be of any use to us.

*Treaties that  
Sustain Amer-  
ican System*

So far as our own relations with the South American countries are concerned, there is no danger that we shall ever take advantage of them

or attack them merely because we have greater resources and a superior navy. In Mr. Root's period as Secretary of State we made arbitration treaties with them, and more recently Mr. Bryan has concluded treaties with as many as fifteen Latin-American republics, providing for commissions of inquiry to pass upon disputes that cannot be adjusted by diplomacy or that are not in their nature referable to arbitration. In the January number of the REVIEW we explained the form and nature of these treaties, and endorsed them as having great value. Mr.

Bryan had held that the chief danger to the peace of modern civilized countries lay in the precipitate appeal to force, and that if time could be gained for the study and analysis of differences that were menacing peace, public opinion would almost inevitably put its veto upon hostilities and find a way to deal with the causes of dispute.

*The Bryan  
Peace  
Methods*

While the treaties thus negotiated along the line of this principle have not all been exactly alike, they have been similar and follow in the main the original model. They provide that before any hostile steps shall be taken by either of the two nations entering into the agreement, an international commission of five members shall be appointed to make inquiry and report. Most of these treaties provide that such report shall be rendered within a year, and that no warlike steps shall be taken during that period. Each of the two countries is to name two members of the commission, one from its own citizenship and the other from a foreign country, while the fifth is to be a foreigner selected by agreement. The details are not so important as the principle. The great point is that nations are not to rush at one another's throats without having first taken time to think the matter over, and without having given outside disinterested persons an opportunity to bring the opinion of mankind to bear upon the crisis. While these principles had met with general approval, they had not taken form in treaties between the United States and the principal countries of Europe until quite recently. Mr. Bryan signed such a treaty with the Netherlands in December, and with Denmark and Switzerland in February. The treaty with Italy was signed on May 5, and that with Norway on June 24. Argentina, Brazil, and Chile all entered into such agreements with the United States on July 24.

*The Notable  
Event of  
September 15*

The most important event, however, in the history of this series of treaties was that of September 15, when at the same time the ambassadors from Great Britain, France, and Spain, and the minister from China, met Secretary Bryan at the State Department and simultaneously affixed their signatures to similar agreements providing for ample investigation of questions of difference arising, and for submission to impartial inquiry. It is understood that Germany, Russia, and Austria have accepted the principle, and that they will in due time sign similar agreements with our

government. Whatever might have been thought of the Bryan proposals last year, when the first one was signed with the tiny republic of Salvador on August 7, and the next with Guatemala and Panama on September 29,—followed by Honduras on November 3 and Nicaragua on December 17,—there is no disposition to-day to regard these precautions and plans as merely academic and without practical value. They have immense value of two kinds: First, as bearing upon sentiment and public opinion, thereby strengthening the restraining influence of the so-called "pacifists" in times of danger; and, second, as practical devices which are wholly likely to retard, and therefore to prevent, precipitate acts of hostility. No thoughtful mind can fail to consider how such precautions for the protection of civilized countries against the horrors of needless warfare would have operated this year if there had been such a treaty between England and Germany, or between Germany and Russia. It is to be hoped and expected that as one of the results of this great war there will be an end of treaties of military alliance in Europe, and the beginning of treaties like these negotiated by Mr. Bryan, providing for the non-military treatment of international disagreements.

*False  
Conceptions  
of Government*

As we tried to make clear in these pages last month, the horrible strife that now scourges the peoples of Europe is due to the fact that they are falsely and dangerously dominated, in their social and economic life, by misconceptions of the true meaning of government and statehood. Modern international law assumes the existence in the world of a series of equal, independent and sovereign states, comprising in their totality what is known as the family of nations. For purposes of intercourse in times of peace and under ordinary conditions, this theory is tenable. But in the larger and sterner aspect of things the theory of a series of equal and independent nations does not hold good, and the principles of international law are not supported. The time has come for a profound readjustment of conceptions and arrangements. When the new ideals of international right and wrong come to be realized there will be no fortifications along the frontiers that separate the European countries, nor can there be any such thing as military invasion of one country by another without long preliminary processes of impartial inquiry, with full appeal to the enlightened sentiment of the entire world.

A way must be found for the peaceful evolution of nations, and for changes in political status, without the necessity of devastating wars for independence.

*For  
instance,  
the Boers*

We have been witnessing a gradual triumph of right principles in the recent history of Great Britain and the associated parts of what in courtesy, and indeed with great respect, is called the British Empire, although it is not an empire in the same sense in which that word has ever been made to apply to any other political structure. The embittered defenders of Germany's recent conduct are sneering in every breath at what they call the rapacity and hypocrisy of England. They are answering those who protest against the German treatment of Belgium by pointing at the British conquest of the two little Boer republics of South Africa. Although the cases were by no means parallel, and the English had some measure of provocation, the attack upon the Boers was wholly wrong in the opinion of mankind and was intensely disapproved of by the people of the United States. It was a bad imperial adventure, pursued with mixed motives, and England was severely punished before she had completed the job. But note what happened afterwards.

*Right Principles in South Africa*

The great democracy of England, by overwhelming majorities, turned their government over to a new kind of parliament, made up of common men in place of aristocratic members of the traditional ruling class. Then these really common men in the British House of Commons promptly proceeded to give the two Boer States back to the Boers, upon the most liberal terms. Further than that, they authorized, five years ago, the "Union of South Africa," which brings together under one general constitution and government the older British colonies of the Cape of Good Hope and Natal, and the two Boer provinces, the Transvaal and the Orange River Free State. The Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa at the present time is that sturdy Boer General, Louis Botha, and a majority of his colleagues in the cabinet are Boers. Thus the Boers are not only ruling their two little original republics, but are also ruling the whole of the developed part of British South Africa.

*Future of  
British  
"Dominions"*

In the House of Commons last month, Sir Edward Grey, in replying to certain aspersions on the part of the German Chancellor regarding

England's conquest of the Boers, made frank reference to the present situation and referred to the Union of South Africa as a free and self-governing sister state. General Botha and his government are supporting Great Britain in the present struggle without pressure or dissent. South Africa feels that it is entirely free to make advantageous development of its vast resources and to educate and improve its people. It prefers its association with England, in view of the unsettled state of world politics; but when a better organization is adopted, so that great armies and navies can be given up, it may turn out that the Anglo-Dutch republic of South Africa will decide upon a career of entire independence. With right conditions established and the danger of wars removed, it would not matter at all to England if the four existing republics of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa should decide that it would be better for them to assume full international responsibility, even as they are already exercising full national authority. This is the thing to be expected.

*Spain's New  
and Fortunate  
Outlook*

Thus, if in due time Canada were to become independent, the last danger would be removed of any misunderstanding between Great Britain and the United States, and these three English-speaking countries would be in position to join hands with France, Germany, Italy, and the eight lesser countries of western Europe for the advancement of human welfare by means of all the new scientific, cultural, and economic agencies of modern progress. One of these eight lesser countries is Spain, in many ways the most backward of all, yet with the greatest opportunity before her in all her history. The most fortunate event in recent Spanish history was the withdrawal from Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. Spain could not, in her present condition, like England, act as useful sponsor for distant regions while they were developing into stable, self-governing entities. Spain was holding these possessions as the mere remnant of the once great Spanish empire that was built up and held together upon false principles. The present mission of Spain is clear and simple, and her opportunity is both beneficent and brilliant. She has the opportunity to devote herself to the intensive development of her own people and domain, upon a non-military basis, to the end that Spanish culture and art shall flourish and Spanish industry and commerce bring to her new wealth and importance.

*How Nations  
Are Now  
Evolving*

Meanwhile, the Spanish-speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere and the islands of the Atlantic and Pacific will have an increasing pleasure and pride in the advancement of Spain, and her relationships with them will be far more gratifying and profitable than at any time under the false methods of colonial empire. Thus we see clearly in the world an opportunity for at least six great English-speaking nations, having much in common and living harmoniously and comfortably with all the world. And in like manner it is plain that Spain may be first in a series of Spanish-speaking states such as Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Cuba, and the rest.

*British Jingoism  
Also a World  
Menace*

It will take some further time and effort to convert the British imperialists from their ideas of force and world domination, or at least to reduce them to the point where their jingoism may no longer endanger the course of British policy. The truth is that the era of England's greatest prosperity will come when she dares to trust the conscience of civilized mankind and to abandon her ruinous policy of naval expansion that has forced Germany, France, and the United States to follow after. The pending war is so terrible that it can only be endured on the theory that it must lead to a suitable and safe reorganization of world affairs, with an abandonment of the false doctrine that nations must make their way in the world by brute force, and that one people may lightly crush down a neighboring people if it has a sufficient belief in its own destiny and a bold enough ambition to plan for its great career.

*Extent of  
German  
Ambition*

It is puzzling to try to find out how pervasive and complete has been the obsession in Germany that the German people were providentially ordained to drive back Russia, crush out France, break up the British Empire, annex Holland and Belgium, and dominate the world. That these unbridled dreams of empire have possessed the minds of many, if not all, of the military leaders of Germany, and that many historians, philosophers, and men of science and culture have been apostles of this so-called "pan-German" cult, is undeniable. But it seems impossible to believe that the great mass of excellent German folks had been seriously infected with this madness. Opinion has become so strongly convinced, in England and France, that Germany has really intended and deliberately planned to

annex the Low Countries and to crush and Germanize France, with a view to the conquest of England, that the very suggestion of ending this devastating war fills men with alarm, because they feel that Germany must be crushed before life can be worth living for any other people in Europe. They are saying emphatically that Germany must be reduced to the position of a second-class power as a result of the present war. As a matter of fact, this war ought to result in the end of the military system, which includes the British navy as well as the German army. The German people cannot be reduced to a low place in the world unless they are nearly all murdered, or unless they cease to apply their splendid energy to the training of all their children and to the social and economic advancement of their communities.

*Germany Must  
Popularize  
Government*

In short, the Germany that wise and clear-visioned people wish to see is a great nation, free to apply every ounce of its energy to those things that at once help its own people and add substantially to the welfare of mankind at large. The new Germany is not to be the product of the punishment administered by a group of powers, great and small, allied to curb what they regard as German aggression. On the contrary, the new Germany is to be the creation of the German people, applying their talents to a neglected field. This field is that of enlightened self-government. The German people have been victimized by their ruling classes. Their system of administration has been exceedingly efficient, and in many ways it has been an instrument of marvelous social progress. But this instrument, which has been used to strengthen Germany and enhance German power, has been controlled by those who have been shaping German policy for the sake of ambitious imperial projects that are now visiting woe upon the heads of the German people. It is true that the German nation is so disciplined, so trained in national and race patriotism, that it has followed its leadership without question into this desperate strife against odds, believing that the inevitable day of fate had come and that Germany's greater glory was to result. But when war becomes a fact, nations almost invariably rise above analysis and criticism, because war means action and not questioning, while to cavil or hold back is akin to treason. Yet it would be absurd to say that this war came on with the deliberate and intelligent support of any great nation.



Peace  
Destroyed by  
Blunders

Even to this day there is not the slightest agreement, on the part of statesmen or the newspaper press of the warring nations, as to the immediate causes. The German people believe the war was forced upon them, while the people of the allied countries just as firmly believe that Germany precipitated, for its own objects, a war that the German Emperor could have prevented by the lifting of a finger. We dealt last month with the sequence of diplomatic incidents that resulted in more than a dozen declarations of war. Every country to-day protests that it did not want war and did all that it could to prevent the outbreak. This seems to many people incredible in view of the undisputed incidents. Yet we may express the belief that Germany, Russia, and England are equally sincere in believing that they did what they could to prevent war. But what conclusion must we reach in view of these pitiable disclaimers of wicked intention? Simply this, that the European governments do not represent the people, that they do not know what is best, that they are not fit to govern, that they should be deprived of the war power, and that they should be radically reconstructed. Their diplomacy has not been other than clumsy and drifting.

Who Controls  
German  
Policy?

A great attempt has been made in the United States, on behalf of Germany, to have it appear that the confederation of German states—known officially as the Deutsches Reich, or German Empire—is popularly governed by its parliament, or Reichstag, and that it could no more be led into war by the Emperor or a ruling clique than could the United States by the President and those immediately about him. We must not at this point take space to enter into a discussion of the details of the German constitution. It is true that the Reichstag, or imperial legislative chamber, is elected by vote of the people on the plan of universal suffrage. But the 397 districts have not been reapportioned since the forming of the empire in 1871. In the meantime Germany has almost doubled in population, and the democratic and radical voters are at a great disadvantage. As the government really works, however, it is the Emperor, the Council of State, and the Emperor's heads of departments, who really govern Germany. The Council of State, or Bundesrath, has sixty-one members, appointed by the governments of the twenty-six great and small states that constitute the empire. Prussia appoints seventeen, Bavaria six, Saxony and Wurtem-



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#### COUNT BERNSTORFF, GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

(The German Ambassador was on his annual visit abroad, but returned promptly to his post after the outbreak of war. He has had twenty-five years of diplomatic experience, the last six in this country, and is greatly admired and esteemed, holding degrees from many of our best universities. He is broad-minded, and is respected on all hands as he endeavors to do his duty in upholding the interests of his country)

burg four each, and most of the small German states only one apiece.

The Prussian  
System  
Explained

The leadership of Prussia is even more potent in fact than in theory. Prussia always dominates the Federal Council as a whole, and the Prussian element in the Federal Council is appointed by a government elected under the Prussian three-class system. Under this system, the voters are arranged on the lists in the order of the amount of taxes they pay. Those paying the first third exercise one-third of the voting power. As this works out in a city like Essen, for example, where the great Krupp gun works are located, it has actually happened that only one person voted in the first class, and elected one-third of the representatives, while thousands of men voted in the third class, also electing exactly one-third of the representatives. In the great city of Berlin, as it works out, one voter of

the first class has as much power as fifty registered voters of the third class. But it is much worse in the great land-holding country districts of the Prussia that lies to the eastward of Berlin than it is in the capital city. The practical consequence of the Prussian system is that Prussia is governed by a few hundred aristocratic, land-holding, and wealthy families, under the leadership of the Prussian King, who is also the German Emperor. Since the smaller northern states of Germany follow the lead of Prussia, the Emperor and his reactionary group of aristocrats and militarists, through their absolute domination of Prussia, have thus far been able to dominate the German Empire.

*Not the Reichstag, but Prussian "Junkers"*

But for this absurd and arbitrary system, which is in practical effect almost as undemocratic as the government of Russia, one may venture to say, with firm confidence and without qualification, that Europe would not now be plunged in this agonizing war. A distinguished German statesman, formerly one of the Emperor's ministers, Dr. Bernhard von Dernburg, has been in the United States during the past few weeks, writing brilliant expositions of the German constitution for the newspapers, addressing public audiences, and endeavoring to make it appear that Germany's government, by reason of the popular election of members of the Reichstag, is as free and democratic as the government of the United States. But even as the Reichstag system now works, the disparity of population in the voting districts creates a situation almost as bad as that of the English House of Commons before the Reform Act of 1832. It takes, upon the average, about twice as many votes to elect a Social Democrat as to elect a member of one of the Conservative groups. Let it be remembered, however, that the Reichstag is not the pivotal point in the government of Germany. Germany is governed by Prussia; and if one would know how far the German government is from being democratic, and how dangerously it is in the hands of the classes that lead in aggressive militarism, he must study both the theory and the practical working of the Prussian system. "Rotten boroughs" and "gerrymandering" ought of course to be reformed, so that the Reichstag may become representative.

*Democracy As An Antidote*

The thing that the German people have to do is not to assert pan-Germanism as against pan-Slavism, but, rather, to assert the rights of

modern democracy against the harmful rule of the Prussian "junkers." When Prussia becomes duly democratic, Germany will at once have been delivered from nine-tenths of its enemies. The British democracy has now succeeded in putting Irish Home Rule on the statute books, after three refusals of the House of Lords, in successive sessions, to accept the measure. But the British people had first to win their great fight in the destruction of the legislative power of the hereditary House of Peers. Peaceful peoples throughout the whole world gain some measure of new security every time the English people take another step towards the reduction of the dangerous power of the privileged and ruling caste, which is always identified with false imperialism and the jingo demand for navies and armies. The thing, then, that Germany most needs lies along that same line,—namely, the assertion of the people against the iniquitous Prussian system of arbitrary government by a handful of landed aristocrats who rule Prussia with the "mailed fist," and through their control of Prussia are able to sway the policy of Germany as a whole.

*Disinterested Opinion*

The people of the United States are wholly friendly to the people of Germany, and have no desire to see them crushed or to see their progress in any manner impaired. German commerce ought to be as free in all the seas as that of England. Yet, so far as this war is concerned, the German propagandists have not been able to convince the American people that the invasion of Belgium was justifiable, merely because the German General Staff thought it the best way to get at France. Even from the strategical standpoint, it is now plain that the invasion of Belgium was a blunder, just as it was an ethical wrong. Germany would have risked less and accomplished more if at first she had conserved her energy and merely resisted the French invasion of Alsace-Lorraine and the Russian invasion of East Prussia. France would not have violated Belgium. And England, under those circumstances, would probably not have entered the war. Germany would then have been free to help Austria meet the Russian advance in Galicia, and would have compelled both her adversaries to waste their energies while she was conserving her own. The invasion of Belgium was fatal, because it brought Great Britain into the arena with the full sympathy and support of Ireland, Canada, and every part of the empire, inclu-

ding India, while it also aroused the sympathies of the entire civilized world against what was regarded as the monstrous wrong, on Germany's part, of violating the Belgian status which she herself had guaranteed.

*Austrians  
Led Blindly to  
War*

As for the Austrian situation, no explanation has been given that justifies the armed attack upon Serbia. Even if Austria had not known that she was precipitating a general European conflict, she would have been without excuse in setting out to crush the Servians by force of arms, even though she may have felt that Serbia had been guilty. It must be remembered that Serbia had accepted almost every point in the Austrian ultimatum, and had merely asked the further discussion of one or two points that involved her dignity as an independent nation. Austria could readily have secured an international inquiry which would have brought to light the extent of the Servian Government's blame for the assassination of the Austrian heir-apparent, and for the alleged Servian plots against Austrian territory and authority. Serbia would have been compelled to make due reparation, and give pledges for future conduct, without the firing of a shot. It is declared in a recent official "white paper," issued by the British Foreign Office on the authority of the retiring British Ambassador at Vienna, that Austria and Russia were about to agree upon a diplomatic treatment of the subject that would have avoided hostilities when Germany interfered and precipitated war. This is, indeed, indignantly denied by the Germans. But at least it seems true that Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, did everything in his power to bring the European governments into a conference over the Servian issue, and that this conference could have been arranged and war averted if Germany had accepted the plan and Austria had been wise.

*Rulers  
and the War  
Power*

Thus the thing proposed by Sir Edward Grey did not differ much in principle and effect from the plan that Mr. Bryan has put into treaties which, last month, were signed with the representatives of Great Britain and France, and which Mr. Bryan is expected soon to sign with Germany and Austria. What we have to consider, then, is a state of affairs among the great powers of continental Europe in which the chief ruler, with his entourage of military and diplomatic advisers, may through mere fumbling, due to prejudice or the bias of his training and habits, precipitate war and

bring ruin upon millions of peaceable citizens, without any man being able to give a reason for the war except through appeal to argumentative processes.

*Efficiency  
for  
War-making—*

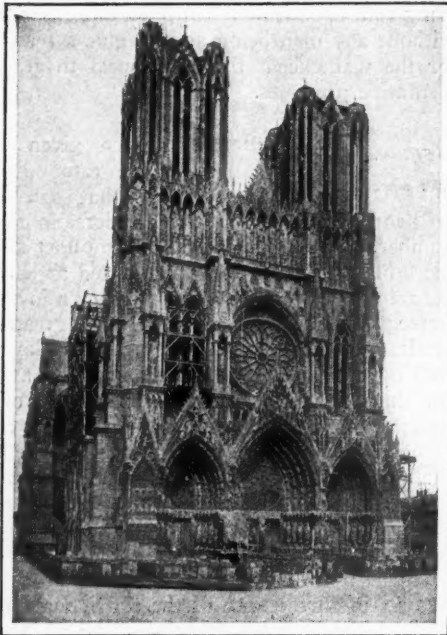
Vast effort has been given to the creation of the astounding military machines that are so brilliantly described for our readers, in this number, by Mr. Waldemar Kaempffert and the other writers of our contributed articles. Amazing study and training are shown in the strategy which has handled the greatest armies of all history, and the tactics displayed each day by the field commanders. The article that we have pride in presenting our readers, from the pen of Mr. Frank H. Simonds, explains more lucidly and graphically than anything else we have read just what the opposing armies have undertaken to do and how they have fared in their huge operations. These articles show all the resources of modern invention and discovery brought to bear in furtherance of the art of warfare. The railroads, the automobiles, the airships, the new kinds of artillery and small weapons, —these and many other things exhibit the results of our twentieth-century science and invention, drawn upon to the utmost in order to give even a higher efficiency to warfare than we have been able to give to economic, sanitary, and social progress.

*Inefficiency  
for  
Peace-Keeping*

But note the contrast. Over against this exhibition of trained preparation for the deadly business of war, we find the most negligent and slovenly development of the systems that control the use of military power and that regulate the diplomatic intercourse of nations. To mobilize meant nothing short of going to war; war meant death and destruction. Yet the nations have not been at pains to protect themselves against the disaster of having the order to mobilize given insanely or needlessly. It all comes back to our original thesis, that the peoples of the world must take in hand the business of their own governing, in order that their interests may not be sacrificed by rulers who are madly playing a great game, rather than wisely serving the cause of the people, and conserving civilization.

*Can There be  
Mediation  
Soon?*

From many sources there has come to the President of the United States great pressure to induce him to use urgent initiative towards mediation and the ending of the great war. Mr. Wilson has made it plain to the belliger-



THE FAMOUS CATHEDRAL AT RHEIMS, WHICH WAS DESTROYED BY GERMAN ARTILLERY FIRE LAST MONTH

ent governments that he will be glad to act when the opportunity comes. But that it had not yet come was generally admitted, last month, by representative opinion both here and abroad. Germany did not expect to mobilize against so large an array of enemies. Her onset through August, however, was so terrific that many of her exponents asserted that the war was already won, and that her peace terms would be very harsh, including the permanent annexation of Belgium, the taking also of parts of France, and the exacting of unheard-of money indemnities. After the Allies had begun to hold the Germans in check, and then to press them back from their high-tide mark in France, the English, under the lead of the *London Times*, took on, in September, an even more arrogant tone as to terms of settlement than the Germans had employed in August.

*What Sort of Terms?* To the more impartial onlooker, neither side seems likely to win either an early or an overwhelming triumph. Germany is self-sustaining as to food and military supplies. She will not make peace on terms that involve dismemberment or humiliation,—at least, not until she has fought against such terms for months that prolong themselves into years. This war is a deadly wrong to civilization and to human-

ity. All of its participants are to some extent guilty, Belgium alone excepted. Even the English might have said to Germany more frankly and boldly that there should be no war, so that the diplomatic misunderstandings that now are so lamentably exposed could,—in part, at least,—have been avoided. The essentials of settlement are not to be humiliation, but guaranties for future peace and for the security of civilization. Such guaranties can only be given by the dismantling of fortifications; the almost complete abolition of armaments, including the Dreadnaught navies; the completion of the imperfect work begun in the creation of the international tribunal at The Hague; the substitution of the American type of arbitration and peace treaties for treaties of military alliance; the beginnings of an international police organization to restrain any treaty-breaking or war-seeking power; finally, a giving-up of those imperial and colonial policies and systems that are in deadly contradiction to the theory and practise of the doctrine of a series of independent and sovereign nations. If peace cannot be made that will bring about such righteous remedies as these, by all means let the war go on till Europe becomes sane enough to repudiate militarism.

*Vandalism,  
—Rheims!*

Meanwhile, every act of wanton cruelty or of shocking vandalism will make the final settlement more difficult. No proper reasons from the military or from any other standpoint have yet been given for the devastation of the beautiful Belgian city of Louvain by order of a German commander. On September 21 all civilized countries, and all civilized men in half-civilized regions, were aghast at the hideous news of the bombardment and destruction of the exquisite and noble Gothic cathedral at Rheims, dating from the thirteenth century. Nothing whatever in the military exigencies of the terrific fighting along the broad line of conflict, required the deliberate turning of German artillery upon this beautiful and conspicuous structure, which at that very moment was in use as a Red Cross hospital for wounded German soldiers. In 1870 the Germans respected French cathedrals and ancient monuments. The Rheims Cathedral was one of the priceless inheritances of the ages, belonging to all whose training in history and art and reverent appreciation had given them understanding. Such acts arouse the unspeakable indignation of millions upon millions of men and women, whose passions are not involved in the war itself.





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SEVEN RAILROAD PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE PETITIONED THE GOVERNMENT FOR AN INCREASE IN FREIGHT RATES

(From left to right: A. J. Earling, of the C. M. & St. P.; D. E. Willard, of the B. & O.; Hale Holden, of the C. B. & Q.; Frank Trumbull, of the C. & O. and the M. K. & T.; Fairfax Harrison, of the Southern System; Samuel Rea, of the Pennsylvania; and E. P. Ripley of the Santa Fé)

War Taxes  
to Bolster  
Federal Income

Several months ago, before any thought of the great European war, it was pointed out in this department that probably Congress would by December have on its hands the problem of increasing the federal income. The European situation has had the immediate effect of vastly increasing the prospective deficiency. So serious has been the falling off in receipts in the customs tariff, due to the partial paralysis of commerce between the United States and Europe, that now it is thought the Government will have to improvise means to raise at least \$100,000,000 a year more than the present sources of income will yield. More than a month ago the leaders in Congress began to canvass the various devices they might employ to make up this additional sum. At first radical increases in the rate and scope of the tax on individual incomes were discussed; but this plan was abandoned, largely because of the opposition of President Wilson. He pointed out that the immediate objection,—its failure to produce income until next July,—was alone sufficient to make it unwise. Then a new schedule of emergency imposts was suggested, chief among them being the novel item of a tax of 5 per cent. on freight bills of lading; but a storm of protest from the country demonstrated clearly the unpopularity of the measure.

Spanish  
War Taxes  
Revised

The Democratic leaders in Congress and the administration had, by the middle of September, come to an agreement on a schedule of new

imposts which, to a considerable extent, followed the lines of the emergency war-revenue taxes laid in the course of our war with Spain. The two most considerable items in the bill as drafted were the tax of fifty cents a barrel on beer, estimated to produce \$32,500,000, and a stamp tax on bonds, stock, bills of sale, mortgages, telegrams, and the like, to bring in approximately \$35,000,000. In addition, imposts were proposed on domestic wines, on licenses for tobacco manufacturers and dealers, on gasoline, and on bankers and brokers, the whole additional revenue being estimated at \$105,000,000. Although the Democrats were in virtual accord as to the desirability of enacting such a measure at once, there were prospects of stout resistance from the Republican Senators; and it is possible that the bill cannot be passed before the November election. In any case, it will doubtless have undergone considerable modification as regards its details, before it becomes a law.

The Freight  
Rate Cause  
Reopened

On September 15, the railroads in "official classification territory,"—the country east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and Potomac rivers,—filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission a petition that they be allowed to make a 5 per cent. increase in freight rates. This is, in fact, an almost immediate reopening of the rate question on which the Commission deliberated for fourteen months, and on which it rendered a substantially negative decision last July. To

justify this sudden reappearance, the thirty-five railroad systems in the territory involved point to their income accounts for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1914, which show an aggregate decrease in gross operating revenues of \$44,700,000, while during the same period operating expenses increased \$23,300,000, making a total decrease in income of \$73,000,000, which was suffered in the face of a considerably increased investment in railway property.

*The European  
War and  
Our Railroads*

But even more ominous for railroad credit than this tremendous falling off in the net revenues of last year is the continuance of the declining tendency since June 30; and this loss of income has, naturally, been most marked since the beginning of the war in Europe. The disruption of commerce resulting from the European war hits the railroads in two ways: first, by the depletion of revenue, owing to the general business depression; second (and perhaps even more disastrous in the immediate future), the destruction of wealth and dislocation of credit throughout the civilized world makes it certain that the competition for capital "will be keener and interest rates higher for some years to come than in any corresponding period within living memory." The railroads were all meeting trouble enough in raising the capital normally necessary to carry on their business and furnish the services required by the public. With European investment sources practically cut off at one blow, and domestic investors crippled and frightened in serious measure, it is indeed difficult to see what the railroads are going to do for needed capital funds in the face of continually decreasing profits. It is estimated that the companies of the United States have obligations of no less than \$500,000,000 maturing within the next fifteen months,—obligations which must be met if bankruptcy is to be averted. Before this petition for a re-opening of the rate question was presented to the Commerce Commission, various railroad heads had conferred with President Wilson, laying before him the dangers confronting them, and the President had issued a statement showing that he appreciated clearly the critical situation they were in.

*War's Effects  
on American  
Business*

Even before the war in Europe struck its heavy blow at business in every civilized country, American industry had been much depressed. In the past twenty months no less than 115 large corporations have passed their dividends

or reduced them, the aggregate reduction amounting to \$85,000,000 per year. These figures are the result of the *Wall Street Journal's* examination of large corporations alone, and would be importantly increased if smaller concerns as well were considered. With the outbreak of the war came an immediate acceleration of the movement of profitable capital changing to dead capital. In the month of August alone, the first month of the war, thirty-three large corporations discontinued dividends and several reduced them, entailing in the aggregate an annual loss of more than \$20,000,000. Two large copper companies postponed action on their dividends involving over \$6,000,000 more. The copper business in general had suffered most acutely. Nearly half of the American copper production was exported; and the rule with copper mines now is to shut down or run on reduced time. By the middle of September no day passed without the news of some fresh suspension or reduction of dividends. The International Harvester Corporation and the Crucible Steel Company were among the more notable concerns, with excellent credit and good earnings, which were forced to stop payments to their stockholders on account of the abnormal conditions of finance and trade.

*New American  
Trade  
Opportunities*

There is published in this issue of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS an optimistic article by Mr. John Barrett on the new opportunities for Americans to cultivate trade relations with our South American neighbors, and the already successful efforts to take advantage of these opportunities. Among the specific attempts to develop our trade with Latin America with intelligence and energy is the plan of the American Express Company, working in co-operation with the New York Central Railroad, to send investigators to the commercial centers of Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, and Peru, and to put the results of their investigations before American business men. The Lehigh Valley Railroad is doing its best for the manufacturers along its lines, utilizing the expedient of sending a special train carrying men thoroughly versed in South American trade requirements to stop at the various towns along the line of the railroad, and confer with local business men. This road has seen that the manufacturers in its territory produce iron, steel, woolen goods, and silks, agricultural and other machinery, tools, and railroad equipment, all of which are needed in South America.

*Emergency  
Legislation at  
Washington*

Stupendous events in Europe have so completely absorbed public attention, and so occupied the space of the newspapers, that American readers have hardly realized the fact that Congress remains in session and that it has been dealing not only with the completion of the Democratic program of legislation on the trust question, but also with many matters growing out of economic changes due to the effects of the war upon trade and commerce. The lawmakers at once turned their attention to some extraordinary situations which confronted industrial, commercial, and agricultural interests in the United States. The deliberations and debates at Washington have been marked by freedom from partisanship; and in general the emergency measures have had a speedy and smooth passage through both houses. The measures relate mainly to our oversea trade and to domestic conditions brought about by the stoppage of a great part of that traffic. Only 8 per cent. of our foreign commerce was carried in American ships, and most of the remainder in British and German vessels whose sailings were either entirely canceled or greatly retarded. Our Government sought to relieve this situation. It passed without delay a Ship Registry bill, providing for the admission to American registry (carrying with it the protection of the American flag) of foreign-built steamships engaged in oversea trade, if owned by our citizens or corporations.

*An American  
Merchant  
Marine*

President Wilson signed this Ship Registry bill on August 18, and later he suspended for two years the regulations which would have required that registered ships be officered by Americans and subject to our inspection laws. The passage of this measure was followed by the transfer to American registry of about fifty vessels which have been owned by domestic corporations. The problem, however, was not so easily solved, for American capital still hesitated to enter the shipping business. The Administration then considered the establishment of a Government-owned steamship corporation, and prepared a bill authorizing the creation of a \$10,000,000 corporation,—51 per cent. of whose stock should be owned by the Government,—for the purchase and operation of merchant vessels for oversea trade. Although there had been no formal protest, Great Britain and France made known their general dissatisfaction with any scheme for the purchase at this time, by our Government or by private inter-

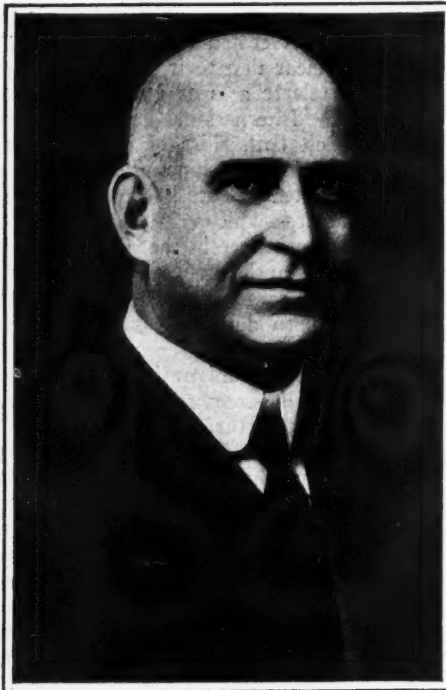
ests for American registry, of ships belonging to belligerents. German vessels only are for sale and it is clear that their purchase would immediately release a large amount of German capital. International law principles were urged on both sides of the question. Associated with these shipping bills was a measure,—adopted by both houses and signed by the President,—which created a Bureau of Marine Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department, with authority to insure American vessels and cargoes against the risks of war. It has been doing a fair business.

*Assisting  
the Farmer*

The Administration at Washington has sought in various ways to lighten the burden which fell upon the agricultural interests of the country when the foreign market became so seriously affected. The cotton growers of the South are particularly hard hit. Their crop is ready, but Europe, which ordinarily would take two-thirds of it, will this year be a poor customer. The Government's relief measures aim to assist the farmer to harvest his crop and to store it until market conditions are better. The Secretary of the Treasury has announced that he will accept from national banks, as a basis for emergency currency, notes secured by warehouse receipts for cotton, tobacco, and naval stores, at 75 per cent. of their value. In the meantime, the Senate has adopted and sent to the House several important amendments to the new Banking and Currency law, relating to the issuing of emergency currency. We may expect the Federal Reserve Bank system to be put into effect in the near future,—there being, however, some hesitancy about launching so complete a change at a time when financial conditions continue to be so uncertain. But the Federal Reserve Board has been constantly at work, and has had much to do with guiding the course of financial affairs at Washington and in the money centers of the country.

*The Federal  
Trade  
Commission*

Last month saw the completion of the third great task which the Democratic majority in Congress, under the firm leadership of President Wilson, had assigned to itself for accomplishment at a single session. First it gave us a new tariff law, then a revised currency and banking system, and, finally, important legislation for regulating monopolistic corporations. The Federal Trade Commission bill (which had passed the House on June 5 and the Senate on August 5) was reported from conference committee on September 4.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

HON. OAKLEY C. CURTIS

(Who last month was elected Governor of Maine)

Four days later it was agreed to in the Senate, with but five votes in opposition; and on the second day following it was ratified by the House without a roll call. The other Administration anti-trust measure,—the Clayton omnibus bill,—which had passed the House on June 5, was agreed to by the Senate on September 2. There were important differences between the two branches, and the measure required several weeks for adjustment in conference committee.

*Senator  
Newlands'  
Fine Record*

The Federal Trade Commission is the result of many years of constructive, non-partisan statesmanship; and upon the final passage of the bill creating it few voices were raised in opposition. The commission will have so great an influence upon "big business" in this country that our readers will be interested in the article describing its mission and its powers which has been prepared for this issue of the REVIEW by Senator Newlands, who, more than any one else, is responsible for the legislation now placed upon the statute books. Mr. Newlands is one of the thirty-two senators whose terms of office are about to expire, and who, for the first time, are to make their appeal for reelection direct to the

voters. The people of Nevada should not fail to recognize the value of the services that Senator Newlands is rendering to the country at large, as well as his own constituency. The case of Senator Newlands ought not to be regarded as involving partisanship in any vital measure. The country needs men of his breadth and experience in the Senate, and he is needed in particular because he is a specialist in a number of great subjects which relate to the agricultural, mineral, and commercial conditions of the West and of the country as a whole.

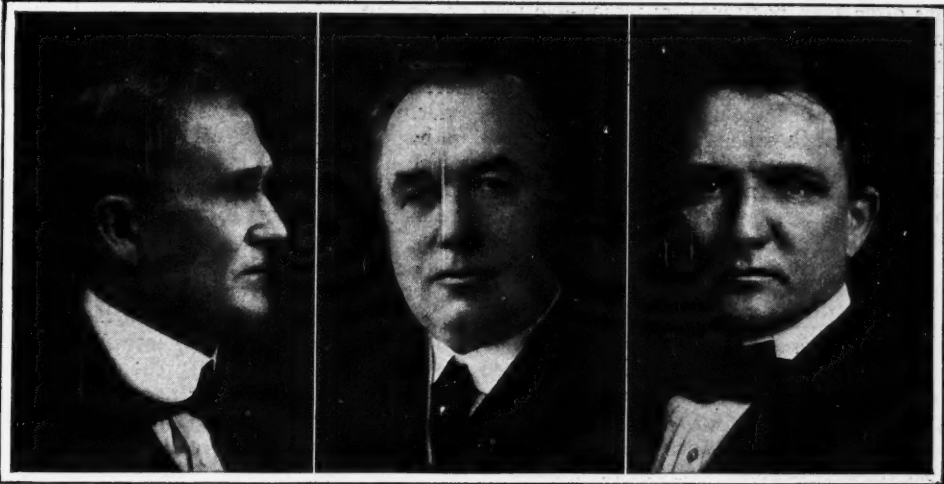
*A Reminder  
of American  
Elections*

As we have already remarked, the overshadowing demand for news from Europe has crowded out of the newspapers very much domestic material of importance from our center of law-making and administration at Washington. Even less attention, moreover, has been drawn to the fact that we have upon us a great political campaign, involving the election, on November 3, of every member of a new House of Representatives and the popular election of a United States Senator in each of thirty-two States. Besides these national elections, many States are electing Governors and other officers both general and local. In the newspapers of each State there has been a fair amount of news about local political conditions. But the reader of the New York press has learned practically nothing of what is going on in the politics of other States. The Chicago press has had more political intelligence; but in general the campaign in its nation-wide aspects has not secured attention.

*Partisanship  
in  
Abeysance*

Everyone has seemed ready to concede that in America, even as in Europe, the grave exigencies of the moment demand that partisanship should be subdued, and that patriotism should bring all elements to the support of "the Government." This means, on the other hand, that the Government itself must not be partisan, but national. President Wilson realized this when he firmly refused to go out and make partisan speeches during the present month. We are doing our best to hold up the hands of President Wilson at this time, irrespective of the fact that he was elected as a Democrat. He is serving us well in a time of emergency and danger, as the head of the nation. Questions at issue require every particle of his energy and his power of attention. He has already put through Congress those great economic pro-





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LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN  
(Republican)ROGER C. SULLIVAN  
(Democrat)RAYMOND ROBINS  
(Progressive)

## THE THREE CANDIDATES FOR THE UNITED STATES SENATE IN ILLINOIS

grams that seemed to call for partisan accord. The country will support him, through the forces of public opinion, in the performance of his duties as President of the whole people, quite regardless of the merely partisan aspects of the election figures that will be reported in the early days of November.

*Strong Men  
Needed at  
Washington*

We need at Washington men of experience, ability, and large views. Under these circumstances, the retirement from official life of a man like Senator Elihu Root of New York is to be regretted. Excepting Dr. David Jayne Hill, who has become a distinguished authority in international law and diplomacy, the Republicans have mentioned no successor to Mr. Root who has seemed entitled to consideration for the office of Senator. The New York primaries, occurring only two days before the opening of October, cannot be summed up by us in this number. Suffice it to say that the Democratic primaries are almost sure to have been controlled by Tammany, and the Republican primaries by the "organization" under Mr. Barnes' leadership. The Democratic candidates for Governor have been Glynn and Hennessy, and the Republican candidates Whitman, Hinman, and Hedges, while the Progressives have been urged to unite upon Davenport, although some of them have been for Sulzer and others for Hennessy. The Administration is evidently for Hennessy and against Tammany.

*Democratic  
Victory  
In Maine*

Vermont having gone over to the ranks of States holding November elections, it has remained for Maine alone to furnish an indication of the tendencies that may prove decisive throughout the country next month. In the Maine election on September 14, the State's present representatives in Congress,—three Republicans and one Democrat,—were all four re-elected. Governor Haines, whose term is expiring, was nominated for reelection by the Republicans. With a Progressive endorsement two years ago, he had won by only 3000 plurality; and the nomination of a separate Progressive ticket this year resulted (as had been expected) in the election as Governor of the Democratic candidate, Oakley C. Curtis, now mayor of Portland. Halbert P. Gardner, the Progressive candidate, was third in the voting results.

*Roger Sullivan  
as the Issue  
in Illinois*

Illinois is one of the States this year electing a United States Senator. Lawrence Y. Sherman seeks reelection, and he had no difficulty in carrying the Republican primary on September 9. The Democratic contest was won by Roger C. Sullivan, of Chicago, who has long been a conspicuous figure in local and national politics. He defeated Lawrence B. Stringer, Congressman-at-Large, by 3 to 1, although he had been opposed by Secretary Bryan, Senator Lewis, Governor Dunne, Mayor Harrison, and the Hearst newspapers. If Roger Sullivan is one-tenth as bad as he

has often been portrayed by responsible men within his own party, his victory is a sad reflection upon the possibilities of primaries and direct elections. But Mr. Sullivan has not yet traveled the full journey, and it is believed that thousands of progressive Democrats will cast their November votes for Raymond Robins, the noted social worker, whose practical democracy cannot be denied. Mr. Robins is the Progressive candidate, and in 1912 his party polled 300,000 votes.

*Pennsylvania  
Candidates*

The fight against Senator Penrose, and the kind of Republicanism which he typifies, was given impetus last month by the withdrawal of the Progressive nominee for Governor of Pennsylvania, William Draper Lewis, in order that the anti-Penrose voters of the State may concentrate upon one candidate. The Republican nominee is Dr. Martin G. Brumbaugh, a well-known educator, himself an eminently respectable and entirely worthy candidate. The Democratic nominee is Vance C. McCormick, a former mayor of Harrisburg, whose record is such that the Progressives are gladly rallying around him on the anti-boss good-government issue. Meanwhile, the opposition to Senator Penrose himself, in his campaign for reelection, is still divided. Congressman Palmer, the Democratic nominee, was selected and groomed by the Administration at Washington; and he has always been considered as having a fair chance of success. Mr. Gifford Pinchot, as the Progressive candidate, has spent several months in making a remarkable personal campaign; and he has in mind the fact that Colonel Roosevelt carried the State by 50,000 plurality in 1912. Neither Palmer nor Pinchot seems likely to withdraw, and the defeat of Penrose is by no means a certainty.

*Wisconsin  
Under  
Self-Criticism*

The Wisconsin Republican primary on September 1 resulted in what has generally been interpreted as a defeat for Senator La Follette, whose seat was not, however, involved. Governor Francis E. McGovern is the "Bull Moose" leader in Wisconsin, although conditions have not called for the organization of the Progressive party in that State. Mr. McGovern carried the Republican primary for the United States Senate seat which Mr. Stephenson is vacating, although he was bitterly opposed by Senator La Follette. The contest for the governorship also resulted in a defeat for the so-called "La Follette candidate" and in the selection of the conservative

or "standpat" Republican, Mr. E. L. Philipp. Judge John C. Karel, another conservative, is again the Democratic candidate for Governor, defeating the Wilson choice. There is evident in both parties a growing tendency to begrudge the cost of those very things which have made Wisconsin the praised and admired model for other States seeking to render broad services to the community.

*Labor and  
Politics  
in Colorado*

Politics in Colorado has been seething ever since the disturbances in the coal fields of the southern part of the State, last April; and the mining issue has been predominant, particularly in the contest for the governorship. The incumbent, Elias M. Ammons, had made a satisfactory record in most respects, but upon him, as responsible head of the State government, has naturally fallen the blame for the existence of a situation which still requires the presence of federal troops in Colorado. The Democrats therefore chose not to renominate Governor Ammons, and selected ex-Senator Thomas M. Patterson, one of the most powerful figures in Colorado politics. E. P. Costigan is again the Progressive candidate. Two years ago the Democrats won by 48,000 votes. Senator Thomas, whose term is expiring, is opposed by I. N. Stevens, the Republican city attorney of Denver, and by Ben Griffith, Progressive. Meanwhile President Wilson has proposed a plan for the settlement of the trouble in the mining district, involving a three-year truce and the observance of State laws. The miners promptly accepted the proposal, but the operators requested time to consider.

*Noteworthy  
Candidates  
in California*

The campaign in California has been of absorbing interest, centering around Governor Hiram W. Johnson, as candidate of the Progressives. He seems certain to win the victory over his opponents,—John B. Curtin, a Democratic member of the State Senate, and John D. Fredericks (Republican), who gained prominence as the district attorney of Los Angeles during the McNamara trial. In the contest for the Senate seat which will be vacated by the Hon. George C. Perkins, the three candidates are of national prominence, and the race will be close. Francis J. Heney, who won fame as a graft prosecutor, is the Progressive nominee. The Republican is Congressman Joseph R. Knowland, who has served for ten years in the House, and the Democratic candidate is ex-Mayor James D. Phelan of San Francisco.

# THE GREAT WAR—NEWS STORY OF THE SECOND MONTH

*The German Advance on Paris*

The month of August saw the great German advance, magnificent from a military point of view for its rapidity, as well as for its solid weight, brush aside the heroic defense of the Belgians, sweep into France, and force back the allied French and British armies steadily until, by September 4, it had come within twenty miles of Paris. This was the crest of its western reach. During the first half of September the war-wearied Germans retired slowly and with dogged resistance before the Allies, who were steadily reinforced. This German retirement was almost as dramatic in its effect on the general result of the war as was the splendid rush toward Paris the week before. The story of this great German offense, perhaps the most impressive in military history, together with an estimate of the strategy of Russia's westward march to meet the invasion of Austria and against Germany's eastern frontier, is told on another page (431) with a directness and vividness that we especially commend to our readers. Other phases of the conflict are also described in special articles, and the month's chronicle, with dates, is given in the "Record of Current Events."

*How the Germans Overran Belgium*

By the end of the third week of the war the German armies had overrun practically all of Belgium. We recorded, in these pages last month, how, by August 22, they had occupied Brussels without a fight and had begun the investment of Namur. The Belgians, meanwhile, had transferred their seat of government to Antwerp. During the week that followed there were a number of very sanguinary engagements at Liège, Dinant, Haelen, Neufchateau, and Charleroi, and "severe outpost skirmishes" at Diest, Louvain, and Huy. In the olden days of warfare these would have been called big battles. So vastly, however, has the theater of war been extended that in the perspective of this world conflict these engagements have already receded into what the official bulletins refer to as "outpost skirmishes." A junction of the German armies of the Moselle and of the Meuse, which was practically accomplished by August 22, gave the Kaiser's generals more than half a million men for sweeping almost the whole of Belgium.

*The "Start" for the Rush in France*

The small Belgian army, probably never more than 100,000 men, and seldom more than half of that number at any one point, fought heroically. It was gradually, but steadily, however, pushed backward by the advancing Germans, and forced to retreat northward to the protection of the fortifications of Antwerp. Acting as a wedge, the German armies drove the Belgians north into Antwerp and pushed the Anglo-French forces back southward very close to the French line. Meanwhile the Germans were constantly sending out cavalry scouting parties of the dreaded Uhlans. These went west to Ghent and threatened Ostend. The main German force then took Namur, after a spirited resistance, during which its heavy siege guns did terribly destructive work. By August 23 the German offense had reached Mons, close to the French frontier, where it met the British, holding the allied left. At this point the writer of our special article on the campaign takes up the story and develops it to the vast and bloody battle of the river Aisne, which was being fought as we went to press with these pages.

*Making Belgium a German Province*

The Germans drove ahead on France. From that moment their operations in Belgium were devoted to resisting the frequent attacks of the small Belgian army, to repulsing sorties from the garrison at Antwerp, and methodically and thoroughly proceeding with the work of turning Belgium into a German province. By September 1 that part of Belgium which the Germans controlled had been annexed to the German Empire. Field Marshal von der Goltz, one of the Kaiser's most famous military men, who has been instructor of the Turkish army in German tactics, was made "Governor of Belgium." On August 25 a German Zeppelin dropped bombs in Antwerp, inflicting damage on more than 600 buildings and killing ten non-combatants, most of them women and children.

*The Charges of "Atrocities"*

There have been charges on both sides, German and Belgian, of atrocities committed on non-combatants and of the mutilation of the dead on the field of battle and the ill-treatment of prisoners. The Zeppelin bombardment of

Antwerp was the subject of very bitter comment among the Allies and in the press of this country. It was defended by the German Ambassador at Washington and others as being a justifiable attack on a fortified place. Four days after the bombardment of Antwerp, the Germans sacked and burned Louvain, one of the oldest cities of Europe; and full of art treasures, sending many of the inhabitants into concentration camps, and shooting a number of the citizens alleged to have been implicated in a general uprising of the civil population against the Germans.

*The Burning  
of  
Louvain*

This burning of Louvain has already become historic. Later it was learned that a number of the more venerable buildings and works of art had been spared. The Germans have defended their action at Louvain on the ground of the necessity in wartime to sternly repress attacks on troops by non-combatants. They have also charged the Belgians and French with inhuman conduct towards German prisoners. Nevertheless, even from the guarded admissions of the Germans themselves the burning of Louvain was an act of barbarity for which history will undoubtedly judge the Kaiser's generals very severely. The Belgian people have proved to the world their heroism and their capacity for devoted patriotism, and their sufferings have touched the heart of mankind. The figure of the young Belgian King has appealed strongly to the world's imagination as that of a heroic, winning personality. It was quite evident, however, that when the Belgian special commission left London on September 2 on their journey to Washington to lay before President Wilson the charge against Germany of atrocities and violations of the rules of war in Belgium, the American people, as represented by their Chief Executive, could not be more than generously sympathetic. During wartime it was not to be expected that the President would do more than politely receive the commission.

*Germany and  
France and  
President Wilson*

Hardly had these commissioners set sail before the impulsive German Emperor had sent a long cable message to Washington, addressed to President Wilson personally, in which he accused the Belgians, French, English, and Russians of inhuman conduct to German prisoners, of using dum-dum, or mushrooming, bullets, and of other atrocities. The Kaiser addressed President Wilson as "the

most notable representative of the principles of humanity." Louvain, he said, "had to be destroyed for the protection of my troops," although, he added, "my heart bleeds when I see such measures inevitable." Several days after the receipt of the Kaiser's message, there was received at Washington a cablegram from President Poincaré, of France, denying the truth of the German Emperor's accusations and asserting that the Germans, not the Allies, were violating the rules of civilized warfare. President Wilson's replies to the Belgian commissioners and to the cablegrams of the German Kaiser and the French President were diplomatically correct in form, and most friendly and dignified in substance. To each he said virtually the same thing. It would be unwise, it would be premature, for any one Government "to form or express a final judgment," and "it would even be inconsistent with the neutral position of any nation which, like this, has no part in the contest. . . . The nations of the world have fortunately by agreement made a plan for such a reckoning and settlement." The Hague Tribunal can hear and determine causes of this nature. Moreover, when the war is over, a day of accounting will come, and the President takes it for granted that then "the nations of Europe will assemble to determine a settlement."

*Conflicting  
Testimony*

The testimony of neutral witnesses regarding the conduct of the Germans in Belgium differs. Most Americans who were in Belgian cities at the time, including Minister Whitlock, at Brussels, and Dr. Louis Livingston Seaman, the well-known army surgeon, the former with the diplomacy appropriate to his position, the latter with the greater freedom of private individuals, have asserted that there was much unnecessary, even wanton, destruction of life and property. Others have claimed that the German troops behaved with notable restraint and moderation under most trying circumstances. Notable testimony to this was borne by a signed statement from five or six prominent American newspaper men in Brussels. The imposition of the German war levies upon Belgian cities, for the payment of which some of the most prominent citizens were held as hostages, has been severely condemned by most Americans, but justified by Germans as one of the penalties of war. It was said that \$40,000,000 was the levy made upon Brussels, and that four of the most eminent citizens of that city had been held as security for its payment. Bel-



gium remained a constant battleground to the German army of occupation, while the main army went on to France. From the extreme north and Antwerp, under the Belgian King, many sorties were made. Field Marshal von der Goltz was reported to have made several efforts to negotiate with the Belgian authorities for a cessation of hostilities, the consideration being German protection and reimbursement, but this was refused by the Belgians.

*The "Smash" to Paris*

Belgium's resistance to the German advance was more effective than either French or Germans anticipated. This is admitted by both sides and is shown by the fact that the Germans lost three weeks in Belgium. It seems likely that the Kaiser's generals soon realized they had lost their initial advantage because of the way the Belgians fought. Nevertheless, with that courage and tenacity which has ever characterized them in war, the Germans pressed on through Belgium, and made a series of daring flanking movements, forcing back the Allies' left in a series of extraordinary dashes with the object of getting round to Paris, either directly from the north, or from the west. The strategy of this movement is told on another page more in detail. For ten days the German advance guard, being part of the army commanded by General von Kluck, almost literally smashed through France, wrecking the country as it went, and not stopping until on September 4 the thunder of its guns could be heard in the outer ring of Paris forts.

*French and British Resistance*

The resistance of the French was most spirited and displayed more ability to take punishment in the military sense than has ever been credited to French troops. In this stubbornly contested retirement of the Allies, the English forces bore an honorable part in holding the left flank. The official reports of their commanding officer, General Sir John French, indicate that, at more than one point, a disaster to the allied force was prevented only by the coolness and orderly courage of the British. The German objective was evidently to get between the Allies and Paris, and thus cut off their retreat. The stubborn refusal of the British to yield more than a very slow retirement to the thunderous German advance prevented the accomplishment of this. All testimony agrees as to the terrible energy and courage of the German regiments, as well as to the prodigal waste



THE WAR CENSOR-IN-CHIEF, RT. HON. F. E. SMITH, M. P., UNIONIST LEADER, AND PRESIDENT OF THE ENGLISH PRESS BUREAU

(Who has more to say than any other one man as to what war news shall come out of England and France)

of life with which the Kaiser's officers threw their wearied troops upon the Allies' front.

*Halting the German Advance*

We do not know with accuracy how many combatants participated in this great series of battles from August 23 to September 4. It was announced, at one time, that 150,000 British had been landed in France, but the best information, at this date, would indicate that not more than 80,000 Englishmen were ever at the front. From Brussels the enveloping attack of Germans, which has been variously estimated at from 600,000 to 1,000,000 men, swept westward, with only slight French successes to delay it. Lille and Boulogne and many smaller places were evacuated by the French. Suddenly on September 4, when within only 17 miles of Paris, the German army of the right turned suddenly eastward. During this time the Allies had been gradually reinforced by fresh French troops until the entire French third line of reserves had been called out.

*The Rigid Censorship*

The censorship became more rather than less rigid as the weeks went on, and not a small proportion of the news in the American papers during early September was taken up with speculation as to the truth or falsity



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

#### READING THE GERMAN DECLARATION OF WAR TO A CROWD OF BERLINERS

of reports that a large Russian force had been transported from Archangel, northern Russia, by way of Scotland, and landed in Belgium, and that an army corps of Hindus had been transported eastward over Canada and also brought to France with Australian and Canadian "colonials" to help the Allies. The difficulties under which American journals have labored in securing news of the war are recounted in Mr. Seitz's article on another page this month. This veteran newspaper man also gives us a graphic account of how, despite the handicaps offered by censors, cut cables, and the refusals of general staffs to permit correspondents to see action, nevertheless, the American papers got the war news.

*Paris Preparing for a Siege*

During the last half of August Paris prepared grimly for a siege by the Germans. Ever since the beginning of France as a nation Paris has been the prize of war by her enemies. Paris has been France to a much greater extent than any other city is representative of an entire nation. Since 1870, when for more than four months the French capital made its devoted, memorable resistance to German arms, French engineers have been preparing the city for just such a siege as was apprehended in August. It was realized by the Germans that the investment of the French capital would prove a very different undertaking in 1914 from what it was in 1871. While, of course, the details of the Paris defenses are not known to the world at large, the general lines are understood. Paris

lies practically at the confluence of three rivers, the Seine, the Marne, and the Oise, and it is by the valleys of these three streams that the ancient enemies of France would have to reach her capital. It is said that nearly \$800,000,000 has been spent in providing the three lines of defenses, which are chiefly on the northeast and south,—all against the invader from the east. The circle of the new defenses has a sweep of eighty-five miles, and consists of a series of entrenched camps, with fortifications, earthworks, and intramural railways, necessitating a defending force of more than a quarter of a million men.

*Did the Germans Aim to Take It?*

Even in 1870 the Germans did not carry the detached fortifications. Paris fell to them finally because she was starving. To-day facilities for provisioning the French capital are much better than they were in 1870, and the defenses much more formidable. It seems evident from the German admissions that the investment of Paris was not their plan. The Kaiser's strategists of the General Staff are reported to have directed the field generals to make a breach in the Paris defenses at one point by means of their largest siege guns. The defending of Paris was confided to General Joseph Gallieni, one of France's military men of longest experience, who was made Military Governor, and who proclaimed his intention of holding the city to the very last. When the Germans were within seventeen miles of the outer forts, the seat of France's

government was removed from Paris to Bordeaux, President Poincaré and his ministers transferring the archives and offices to that ancient city.

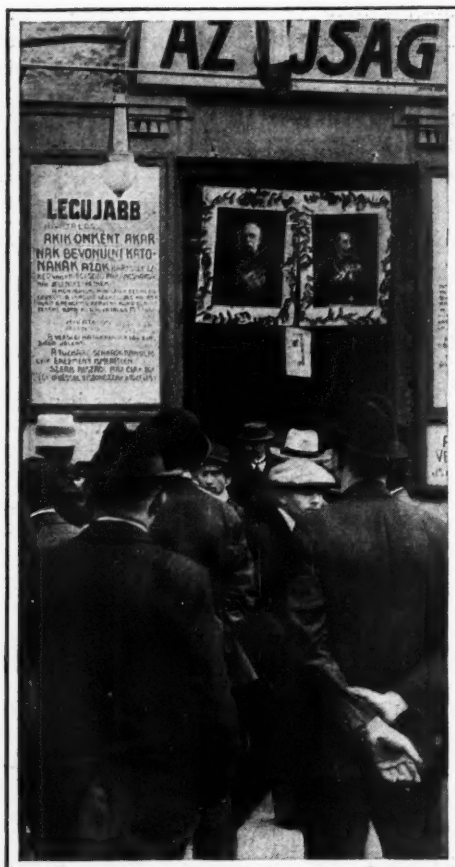
*France's "Ministry of National Defense"* It has been said that as soon as a national crisis of great magnitude appears in France a new government is at once formed, which the French are fond of calling a ministry of national defense. On August 26 the entire Viviani cabinet resigned. The Ministry of National Defense, which was then installed, was made up, as was the case in England and Belgium, of members of all political parties. Premier Viviani retained his post, M. Delcassé became Minister of Foreign Affairs, while the moderate Socialists, Briand and Millerand, and the radical Socialist anti-militarists, Jules Guesde and Marcel Sembat, became members of the cabinet. Paris was put under the sternest military law. Late in August several German airship attacks were made on the city. While there has been a great deal of indignation aroused at this, it must be admitted that technically it was not a violation of the rules of war, since both France and Germany, at the last Hague Conference, declined to subscribe to the prohibition against dropping bombs into fortified cities. It was soon realized that the French counter advance into Alsace had been made more for political than for military reasons, and that, although the city of Mülhausen was taken and retaken several times, no important effect on the general fortunes of the war was exercised by this campaign.

*The Germans Retiring* Whether the retreat of the Allies was due entirely to the superiority of the German machine, and the insufficiency of the French and English forces, or whether, as has been claimed, it was part of the dilatory tactics of the French Fabius, General Joffre,—or to both causes combined,—was not known to the world last month. Yet it seemed certain that the delay and losses inflicted on the Germans, perhaps in combination with a menace to their communications, brought about the turning of the German line when within less than twenty miles of the fortifications of Paris. From September 4 until these pages went to press the Germans retired slowly, fighting sanguinary engagements, and retracing a large part of their way to the Belgian-Alsatian border. By September 21 a decisive battle was raging, decisive in the sense of determining whether the Germans were to be

forced entirely out of France, or whether they might re-collect their strength, and reinforce their position, and perhaps eventually defeat the Allies. It looked, however, as though for a long time, at least, Paris was in no danger of a direct German attack. As their enemies retired, the spirits of the Allies rose to an enthusiastic pitch. The French, always more effective in attack than in defense, were credited with some splendid work. Not less admirable was the dogged courage of the Germans in retirement.

*The Allies Will Not Make a Separate Peace* Meanwhile, the English War Office, under the stern insistence of Lord Kitchener, was bending its entire energies to increasing its field forces. The War Minister, having warned his countrymen that the conflict might last for several years, called for a levy of a million men. During the days of the greatest vigor of the German advance, it had been rumored that the French might be forced by their adverse fortune to make a separate peace with Germany, and that the British people, arguing that their national life was not in immediate danger, might not continue to pour men into France for battle. Doubts on this score, however, were settled on September 5, when there were published the terms of an agreement made between the allied powers,—Britain, France, and Russia,—that none would make peace without agreement with the other two. Such an agreement, it was learned at about the same time, had been made before hostilities began between Germany and Austria. It then became a question of a fight to the finish between the two Germanic empires and the three allies.

*The Russians Sweep Westward* Scarcely less dramatic than the German advance into France, and more impressive because it succeeded, was the mobilization of the huge Russian army, and its simultaneous invasion of German and Austrian territory. It had not been expected by the military experts that Russia's army would be able to take the field in less than a month after the order for mobilization had gone forth. On August 18, however, fully a fortnight before the time expected by the rest of Europe, the Czar's legions began to move westward. By August 20 they had crossed the German and Austrian frontiers. We had heard vaguely that the Austro-German offensive against Russia contemplated a German advance southward, and an Austrian advance northward, meeting east of Warsaw in the old



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

HUNGARIAN CROWDS WATCHING WAR BULLETINS  
IN BUDAPEST  
(Showing portrait of the two Kaisers decorated with  
laurel)

kingdom of Poland, and thus cutting off that projection of the Russian Empire which is Poland, and which juts out into the west beyond the bulk of the Czar's domain.

*The Crushing  
of Austria's  
Armies*

Early in the war the Germans invaded Poland, captured the important manufacturing city of Lodz, and the administrative center, Kalisch. Later they won several victories over the Russians in East Prussia. One at Allenstein was regarded as a triumph. Later the German general, von Hindenberg, was reported to have signally defeated the Russians under General Rennenkampf of Japanese war fame. The phenomenal success of the Russians, their crushing of the Austrian resistance, and absorbing practically all the province of Galicia is told in our general article on the war strategy on page 431. It was being reported during early September that the

reverses to the Austrian arms had so greatly depressed the Government at Vienna that the capital was being fortified against a possible Russian attack. The internal condition of Austria-Hungary was said to be very bad, revolt threatening in several provinces. The popular pressure for peace, added to the reported success of the Servians, who, early in September, crossed the Danube, and took Semlin, threatened to disrupt the monarchy. Reports from the Russian capital claimed that the Austrian losses during the campaign totaled more than 300,000 men, killed, wounded, and captured.

*The Russian  
Success a  
Surprise*

The Russian success was a surprise to the world, since the Austrian armies were believed to be of a high degree of efficiency, and western nations had not realized that Russia had recovered so much ground in the way of military effectiveness and the morale of her troops since her defeat by Japan ten years ago. In a number of ways, however, it has become evident that even the Russian autocracy has learned some of its lesson. An order strictly prohibiting the use of alcohol by the troops, and the sternest injunctions against excesses have marked the campaign of the Russian armies, under the command of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicholaevitch, uncle of the Czar. Russian promises to Poles for autonomy (see our Leading Article on page 497), and reported offers to the Finns and Jews, have aroused a good deal of enthusiasm, apparently, among Russia's subject peoples, despite the doubt, openly expressed, as to the sincerity of the autocracy. One edict removes all the military disabilities from the Jews, and permits them to rise even to the rank of officers in the army. The Poles in Galicia have evidently accepted the Czar's promise at somewhat near its face value, and the Government at Vienna is claiming that the Austrian failure was largely due to the desertion of Poles to the Russian side, and the assistance rendered to the armies of the Czar by their brother Slavs in Galicia. Emperor Nicholas is reported to have declared that the task assigned to him by the other Allies was the capture of Berlin, and that he would accomplish this if it took his very last muzhik. The nationalistic enthusiasm of the Russian court and its anti-German feeling is reported to be intense. It has gone even to the point of changing the form of the name of the Czar's capital. St. Petersburg, with its hated German termination, has become Petrograd, the Slavonic form of the City of Peter.



*The Unity  
of  
Britons*

It has been said that the zeal with which an Englishman does not do a thing until he has been convinced that it is absolutely necessary has often deceived the rest of the world into the belief that he could not do it if he tried. Two months of the ordeal of battle have shown that the British Empire is not yet on its last legs, and that John Bull is at last aroused to the point of demonstrating that, morally and physically, he is not by any means the degenerate the magazine writers have called him. Rival nations, particularly the German, seeing chiefly the menace of armed rebellion in Ireland and the depredations of the militant suffragettes, and believing the reports of a revolution in India, regarded present day Britain as too decadent to make war. A great many Englishmen themselves have felt (as the good Bishop of Winchester puts it in an article in the *Contemporary Review* from which we quote on another page) that Britain was in a deadlock of forces, which could not be broken except by "something terrible." That terrible thing, the call to arms, has revealed a national unity of conviction and purpose that has amazed those who do not understand British character as it really is. From all over Britain and the Empire, from both camps of the Irish "belligerents," from Canada, Australia, India, and South Africa, men have been hurrying by the thousands to take part in what they regard as a struggle against militarism's reign of terror.

*A War  
to  
the End*

On September the Parliament officially put on the statute books the Irish Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment laws, but postponed their operation for a year. The leaders of both the Ulster men and the Nationalists have joined hands "for the war." The militancy of the women who clamor for the vote has ceased. The enrolment of a large volunteer army was proceeding slowly but surely during September and it was expected that, by the first of the present month a force of half a million more men would be taken from England to the battlefields of



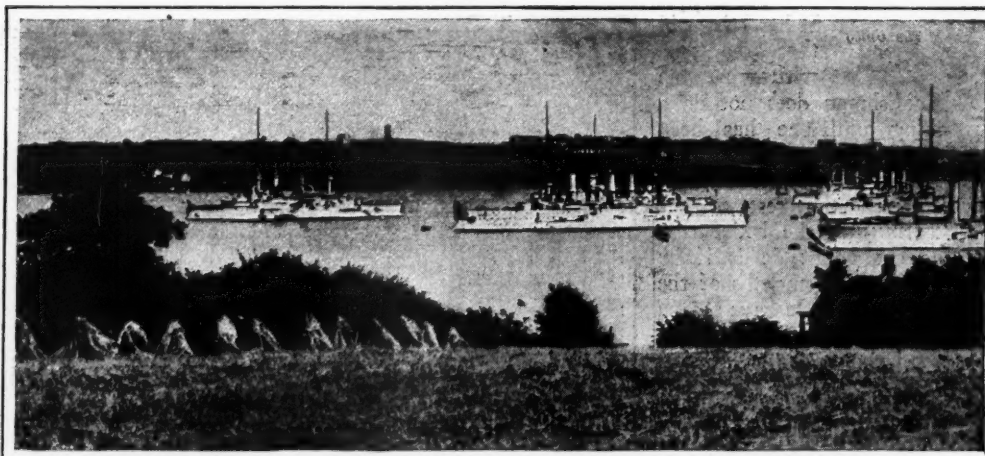
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A SCENE ON THE WHARVES OF KÖNIGSBERG, ONE OF GERMANY'S STRONGEST FORTRESS TOWNS IN EAST PRUSSIA

France. The utmost loyalty to the monarchy and the government in the crisis has been shown, as well as evidences given of grim determination to "stick to Britain's allies to the end." In his speech proroguing Parliament, on September 18, King George asserted positively that Britain would not lay down her arms until the Allies had won. Intense popular interest was shown in the operations of the fleet, which, all during August and September, was gathered in the North Sea waiting for opportunity to attack the Kaiser's warships.

*The Naval  
Fight off  
Heligoland*

After spending four weeks of grim waiting for the German ships to come out of the Baltic, and engaging themselves in the meanwhile with the task of "netting up" the mines with which the Germans had sown the waters at the entrance to the Kiel Canal, the British naval commanders apparently determined to go in and get the Germans. On August 28, an English battle cruiser squadron and destroyers, under command of Rear Admiral Sir David Beatty, attacked a German cruiser squadron off the "Bight" of Heligoland, the bold rocky fortified island in the North Sea which Britain ceded to Germany in 1890. The censorship has not yet permitted us to be sure whether the English took all the initiative, or whether, as has been claimed, the half dozen German light cruisers, supported by destroyers, were attempting to run the blockade when the English caught them. In an eight-hour action, two of the German

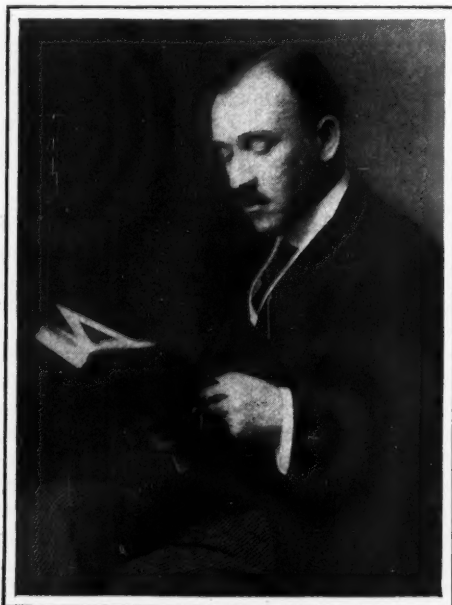


THE KAISER'S NAVY—GERMANY'S SPLENDID BUT UNTRIED FLEET OF WARSHIPS IN THE FINE

cruisers, the *Mainz* and the *Ariadne*, were sunk, a third was set on fire, and two destroyers were sent to the bottom. The British losses were light.

Several other German warships in different waters of the globe, were sunk, during August and September, chief among them being the

*What the  
Allied Fleets  
Have Done*



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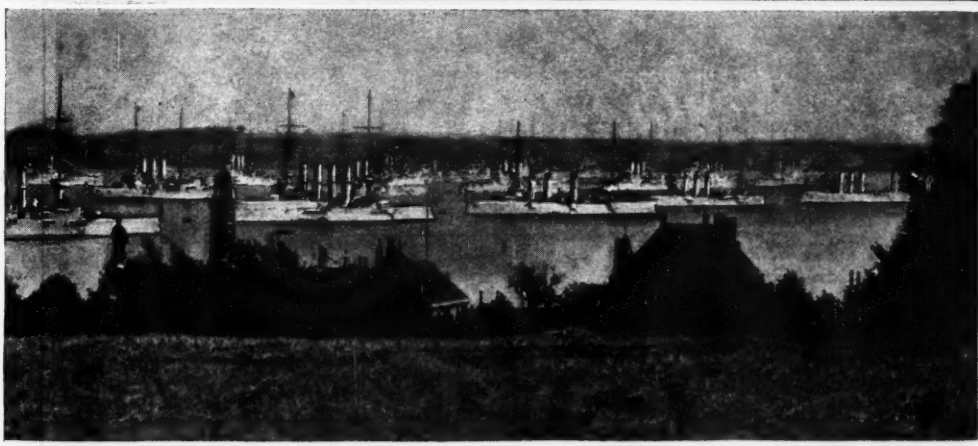
HERR GOTTLIEB VON JAGOW, THE GERMAN  
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(It was reported last month that Herr von Jagow had resigned his portfolio because of the displeasure manifested by the Kaiser over Germany's almost isolated position in the world war. The Kaiser was said to have attributed this to the ineffective diplomacy of the Chancellor and the Foreign Minister.)

*Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, formerly a North German Lloyd passenger ship, which was sunk off the west coast of Africa by a British cruiser on August 27, and the cruiser *Hela* on September 13. Several attacks by French and British warships on Austrian battleships in the Adriatic were reported and denied. It was also claimed, at various times, that the German ships in the Baltic had not been idle, but had inflicted a good deal of damage on Russian commerce, had bombarded the ports of Kronstadt and Reval, and had even threatened a quick dash up the Neva to attack the Czar's capital itself. While up to the middle of September there had been no great naval fight, the fleets of the Allies, that is, the British and French, had accomplished the task assigned them. They have kept the seas open for English, French, and neutral ships, thus permitting the transport of food supplies and troops. They have also practically destroyed Germany's over-sea commerce, and, by thus doing, closed German factories and thrown an enormous number of German people out of employment.

*German  
Patriotic  
Devotion*

With the cutting of the German transatlantic cable, in the first few days of the war, Germany and the German people disappeared behind a curtain, and the rest of the world was permitted to see and hear about them only what the official reports gave out, or what returning travelers told of their experiences. A pleasant antidote for the indignation and resentment aroused by the charges of German atrocities in Belgium is found in the almost unvaried praise of returning American travelers for the courtesy and kindness



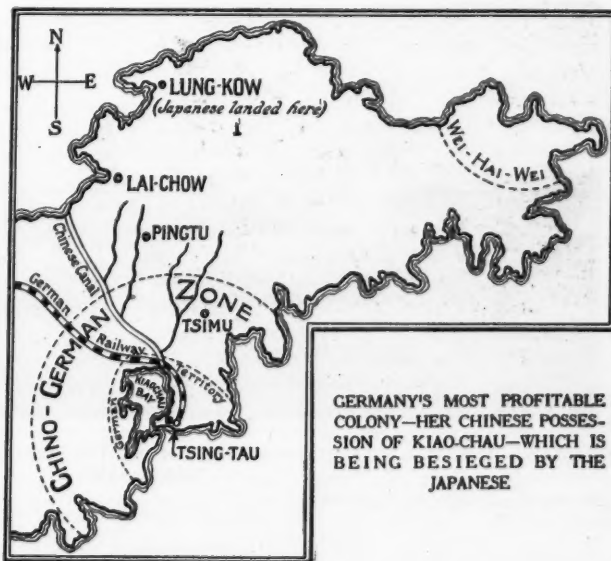
HARBOR OF KIEL AT THE EASTERN END OF THE FAMOUS KAISER WILHELM (KIEL) CANAL

with which they were treated in Germany and the help that was rendered them in their departure from a war-torn land. The economic life of the German people since the conflict began has been the subject of utterly conflicting reports. We have apparently trustworthy testimony to the effect that the enormous loss of life in the campaign in France has filled the land with widows and orphans and completely crushed industry. We have been told about crowds marching through the streets of German cities shouting for peace. On the other hand, German official reports, which have been as often confirmed by subsequent events as those of the Allies claim that things are going as usual in the Empire, that there is enough food for a year to come, that Germany is the only one among the fighting nations that has not yet declared a general moratorium, and that the Socialists of the Fatherland have marched off without exception to fight for their country. There can be no doubt that the German people firmly believe they are fighting a war of national defense.

*Japan's  
Careful  
Campaign*

Japan is the only one of the belligerents in this war that has faced the problem of besieging modern fortifications. Keeping in mind her experience before Port Arthur, ten years ago, she has now sent an

army of 50,000 men against the German holding force at Kiao-chau, a garrison numbering barely 5000. The German defenses at this point, guarding what is really the Kaiser's most profitable colony, are very strong and the commander has received instructions to hold out to the very last. We are not told how many Japanese warships are in the harbor, but we are informed that the Tokio Government is prepared to conduct a long siege. There was considerable discussion in the German press last month about the violation of Chinese neutrality by Japan in landing troops at Lung-Kow on Chinese territory, in order to cut off the German stronghold by land. While it was generally



GERMANY'S MOST PROFITABLE COLONY—HER CHINESE POSSESSION OF KIAO-CHAU—WHICH IS BEING BESIEGED BY THE JAPANESE



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

THE TOKYO CROWD "RESPECTFULLY BESIEGING" THE GERMAN EMBASSY AFTER THE DECLARATION OF WAR BY JAPAN

recognized that Japan was as much bound by her terms of alliance with England to take the British side of the war as Germany was to support Austria, there seems to be no doubt that the war with Germany is popular among the Japanese people as well as regarded as diplomatically correct by the government. Not only do the Japanese blame the German Government for engineering Japan's expulsion from Port Arthur after the war with China; they also regard the Germans as having been largely responsible for the war with Russia, and they have never quite forgiven the Kaiser's "Yellow Peril,"

"Mailed Fist" slogan. The actual bombardment of Kiao-chau began in deliberate manner on August 24. This action of Japan will give that empire, for the first time, a voice in the councils of Europe. If—as she promises—she returns Kiao-Chau to China, she will at one stroke have rid herself of a dangerous commercial rival, the German, and put China under friendly obligations to herself. A statement issued by the British foreign office declares that Japan will confine her military operations to the China Seas, and not attack any of Germany's colonies in the South Pacific.



BELGRADE, THE WAR-BELEAGUERED SERVIAN CAPITAL, LOOKING FROM THE AUSTRIAN SIDE OF THE DANUBE

(The Austrians began the bombardment of Belgrade on July 26 and yet, by the middle of September, it was reported to be still holding out against their guns)



# RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From August 22 to September 21, 1914)

## *The Last Week of August*

August 22.—Confirmation is received of a Serbian victory over Austrian troops in a four-days' engagement at Losnitz, on the River Drina; the Serbian Government states that 4500 prisoners were captured.

August 23.—Japan declares war on Germany, upon the expiration of the time limit set by the Japanese ultimatum of August 16; no reply had been made by the German Government to the demand that Germany withdraw from Kiau-chau, its leased territory in China.

The Russian Government reports a series of victories by the army which it has thrown across the frontier into East Prussia.

The French Foreign Office states that Great Britain and France have agreed to advance \$100,000,000 to help Belgium meet the demands of Germany.

August 24.—The French War Office admits that the general offensive movement of the Allies has failed, and that the French troops have withdrawn from Alsace and Lorraine.

The German forces, with heavy artillery, capture five of the nine forts at Namur, Belgium, and occupy the city.

Servia forces a complete withdrawal from Serbian territory of the Austrian army of invasion.

August 25.—A German (Zeppelin) airship flies over Antwerp in the early morning and drops bombs in the heart of the city, causing great destruction and killing ten non-combatants.

Austria formally declares war upon Japan, feeling compelled to do so by her alliance with Germany.

It becomes known that the German Government, as late as August 9, offered to cease warring upon Belgium and to evacuate Belgian territory as soon as conditions might permit; Belgium replied on August 12 that she could not permit her neutrality to be violated.

August 26.—A persistent advance movement of the German right wing, begun at Mons, Belgium, on August 23, has resulted in the stubborn resistance but gradual retirement of the Allies' "left," composed mainly of British troops.

The city of Louvain, Belgium, is burned by the German occupying force, in retaliation for an alleged perfidious attack upon German soldiers by civilians.

The former transatlantic liner *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, converted by Germany into an armed commerce-destroying cruiser, is sunk off the west coast of Africa by the British cruiser *Highflyer*.

The German cruiser *Magdeburg* runs aground at the entrance to the Gulf of Finland, and is later destroyed by Russian warships.

The French cabinet under Premier Viviani is reconstructed on a war basis.

August 27.—The French fortress at Longwy, after a siege lasting twenty-four days, surrenders to a German army under Crown Prince Friedrich

Wilhelm; more than half the garrison had been killed or wounded.

A Japanese fleet blockades the German port of Kiau-chau, China.

An official Austrian statement claims a victory in a three-days' battle with Russian troops near Krasnik, Russian Poland.

August 28.—A British fleet of cruisers and torpedo-boat destroyers attacks a portion of the German fleet in the North Sea, northwest of Heligoland, and sinks three cruisers and two destroyers.

August 29.—The fortress of La Fere, in France, is taken by the German forces after a severe engagement.

The military governor of Paris orders the destruction of all houses in the city's suburbs which are within range of the circle of forts.

An expeditionary force from New Zealand seizes Apia, the most important port of German Samoa.

August 30.—A German aeroplane flies over Paris and drops five bombs, without great damage, into the northeastern section of the city.

August 31.—A Russian imperial decree changes the name of the capital from St. Petersburg to Petrograd, to eliminate the German construction.

## *The First Week of September*

September 1.—It is estimated that 6,000,000 men are actively engaged in battle; 3,000,000 are in France and Belgium, the Germans being in superior numbers to the French, English, and Belgians; 3,000,000 others are near the Russian frontier, the Germans and Austro-Hungarians being outnumbered by the Russians.

The German Government reports a victory over the Russian army of invasion at Allenstein, Prussia, which resulted in the rout of 120,000 Russians and the capture of 70,000 prisoners; the Russian Government admits a defeat.

After a battle lasting seven days, the Russian army in Austria, under General Ruzsky, takes the strongly fortified positions around Lemberg, the most important city in Galicia, and inflicts a decisive defeat upon the Austrian army.

September 2.—Japanese troops, for operations on land against the German possessions at Kiau-chau, are landed at Lung-kow, in Chinese territory, under protest from the Chinese authorities.

September 3.—As the German army of invasion arrives within striking distance of Paris, the seat of the French Government is transferred to Bordeaux, near the western coast.

Germany vigorously protests to China against permitting Japan to land troops on Chinese territory.

September 4.—The extreme right wing of the German line, which had been advancing steadily toward Paris through Belgium and northern France, begins a "turning" or "hook" movement, and marches in a southeasterly direction, away from the French capital.

Rheims, a strongly fortified city in the second French line of defense, is occupied by German troops without resistance.

September 5.—The British, French, and Russian governments agree not to conclude peace separately during the present war.

The small British cruiser *Pathfinder* is blown up by a torpedo in the North Sea, near the coast of Scotland; 246 of the crew are killed.

### *The Second Week of September*

September 6.—It is officially announced that the casualties of the British army and navy during the month of August were 15,151 killed, wounded, and missing.

September 7.—The gradual but steady retreat of the French and British forces before the German attack, begun on Mons on August 23, is halted on a line extending from a point slightly north of Paris to Verdun, and a strong offensive movement by the Allies' center and left is begun.

Maubeuge, a first-class French fortress near the Belgian frontier, which had been continuously attacked since August 26, is surrendered to the German attacking force.

Russia formally annexes Galicia, the largest province of Austria; it is estimated that 82,000 Austrian soldiers have been captured by the Russian army.

September 8.—The former transatlantic liner *Oceanic*, converted into an armed merchant cruiser, runs aground on the north coast of Scotland and is abandoned.

September 9.—The German Kaiser protests to the President of the United States against the alleged use, by French and British soldiers, of bullets which spread and make ugly wounds.

September 10.—The retreat of the German right wing, under pressure from the strong offensive movement of the Allies (now believed to be in superior numbers), becomes more pronounced and rapid.

September 11.—A naval expedition from Australia seizes Herbertshoehe, the seat of government in the German possessions of the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands.

September 12.—The American Red Cross relief ship *Red Cross* leaves New York for European waters, bearing physicians, nurses, and medical supplies.

The German retreat is halted along the line of the Aisne River, from Soissons to the Argonne Forest, and preparations are made for resisting the advance of the Allies.

It becomes known that Termonde, a Belgian town of 10,000 inhabitants, has been burned and completely destroyed by the German army.

### *The Third Week of September*

September 13.—General Joffre, commander-in-chief of the French forces, reports that a five-day battle with the German right and center, in the vicinity of the River Marne, has ended in an undeniable victory.

The small German cruiser *Hela* is sunk by the British submarine *Eg* south of Heligoland.

September 14.—An offensive movement by the

Belgian army, from Antwerp, after four days' fighting fails to affect the German position around Brussels, Louvain, and Malines.

The Allied forces reoccupy the fortified city of Rheims, in France.

The converted British liner *Carmania* sinks a German armed merchantman in an engagement off the east coast of South America.

September 15.—The Russian Minister of War states that the task assigned to the Russian army, in the Allies' plan of campaign, is the capture of Berlin.

September 16.—President Wilson receives at the White House a special Belgian commission, which presents to him a detailed statement of atrocities and violations of the rules of war, which they allege have been committed by the German army in Belgium.

The replies of President Wilson to both the Kaiser's and the Belgian protests express his belief that it would be unwise for a neutral government to express judgment at this time, and that it must await the final adjustment and the verdict of public opinion.

It is claimed in Russia that since the capture of Lemberg on August 1 the Austrian army has lost 250,000 men killed and wounded, besides 100,000 made prisoners; the Austrian Ambassador to the United States ridicules Russian statements of Austrian losses.

The Russian army begins an attack upon the strong fortifications around Przemysl, beyond which the Austrian army is re-forming.

September 17.—An informal reply from the German Imperial Chancellor to President Wilson's equally informal inquiry as to whether Germany is willing to discuss terms of peace, suggests that the United States should first get proposals of peace from the Allies.

The indications are that the resistance of Germans to the Russian invasion of East Prussia has resulted in an almost complete withdrawal of Russian troops from German soil.

An official German report maintains that the German armies in France have suffered no defeat, but have merely retreated for strategic purposes.

The British Secretary of State for War reports that the British army in France totals 175,000 men.

September 20.—The French Minister of the Interior announces that the famous Cathedral of Rheims, together with other historic buildings, has been destroyed during the second bombardment of the city by the German army.

The small British cruiser *Pegasus* is destroyed by the German cruiser *Königsberg* in Zanzibar harbor.

September 21.—The ninth day of the assault by the British and French left wing, upon the German line entrenched in the district around the Aisne River, in France, passes without decisive gain for either side; the battle has been the longest and bloodiest of the war.

The end of the fourth week of the German invasion of France, through Belgium, finds the German army from thirty to fifty miles back from its farthest point of advance, on September 7.

# RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From August 21 to September 20, 1914)

## PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

August 21.—The Senate adopts an emergency measure appropriating \$5,000,000 to insure American vessels and their cargoes against loss by war.

August 22.—The Senate adopts a bill authorizing the purchase by the Government of 15,000,000 ounces of silver, to relieve distress in the silver-mining industry.

August 24.—The Senate passes a bill granting federal licenses to cotton and grain warehouses, thereby increasing the borrowing value of certificates. . . . In the House, the Administration's bill is introduced which would create a corporation, in which the Government would own a majority of the stock, to purchase and operate an ocean-steamship service.

August 25.—The House, in order to obtain a quorum and transact business, revokes all leaves of absence and authorizes the deduction of the daily compensation of those who fail to attend.

August 29.—The House passes the bill creating a Bureau of War Risk Insurance.

September 2.—In the Senate, the second of the Administration's anti-trust measures, the Clayton bill, is passed by vote of 46 to 16; seven Republicans and the Progressive member vote for it.

September 4.—Both branches assemble in the House chamber and are addressed by the President upon the necessity for providing additional revenue to meet the deficit which will be created by the falling-off of imports from countries affected by the European war. . . . Both branches receive the conference report on the Federal Trade Commission bill, which passed the House on June 5 and the Senate on August 5.

September 5.—The House passes the Administration's bill providing for the leasing of Alaskan coal lands on a royalty basis.

September 8.—The Senate, by vote of 43 to 5, agrees to the conference report on the Federal Trade Commission bill. . . . The House unanimously adopts a bill promoting Colonel Goethals to the rank of Major-General, and conferring honors upon other army officers connected with the construction of the Panama Canal.

September 10.—The House agrees to the conference report on the Federal Trade Commission bill, without a roll call.

September 11.—The Senate adopts amendments to the Federal Reserve Act, increasing the amount of emergency currency which may be issued by a national bank against commercial paper, and extending to State banks the privilege of issuing emergency notes under certain conditions.

September 15.—The House Democrats, in caucus, consider the principles of an emergency revenue measure; it is agreed to tax beer, wines, gasoline, tobacco manufacturers and dealers, and certain forms of commercial paper, but the proposal for a heavy tax on freight is abandoned.

September 18-19.—The Senate is held in continuous session for thirty-one hours by Mr. Burton (Rep., Ohio) and other opponents of the River and Harbor appropriation bill.

## AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 25.—In the South Carolina Democratic primary, Senator Ellison D. Smith is renominated, defeating Governor Cole L. Blease.

August 27.—In the California primary, Governor Johnson is renominated by the Progressives; Francis J. Heney (Prog.), Congressman Knowland (Rep.), and James D. Phelan (Dem.) are nominated for the seat in the United States Senate.

September 1.—In the Wisconsin primary, Governor McGovern receives the Republican nomination for the United States Senate; E. L. Philipp (Rep.) and John C. Karel (Dem.) are nominated for Governor.

September 6.—President Wilson announces that he will not take active part in the approaching Congressional campaign, believing it to be his duty to remain at Washington during the present unsettled conditions.

September 7-8.—Colonel Roosevelt addresses large audiences in Louisiana, applying Progressive principles to local problems.

September 8.—In the Colorado primaries, Senator Thomas (Dem.) is renominated, and ex-Senator Thomas M. Patterson (Dem.) is nominated for Governor; the Republican nominees are I. N. Stevens and Samuel D. Nicholson, respectively, and the Progressives are Ben Griffith and E. P. Costigan. . . . In the second Democratic primary in South Carolina, Richard I. Manning is nominated for Governor.

September 9.—In the Illinois primary, Senator Sherman (Rep.) is renominated, and Roger C. Sullivan (Dem.) and Raymond Robins (Prog.) are chosen to oppose him in the election. . . . William Draper Lewis, nominated by the Washington (Progressive) party in the Pennsylvania primaries, withdraws from the contest in order that the opponents of the Republican machine might unite upon one candidate. . . . President Wilson receives at the White House a delegation of railroad presidents, who seek to call the attention of the country to the extraordinary financial situation confronting the railroads.

September 10.—President Wilson makes known his sympathetic appreciation of the weakened condition of railroad finances and revenues.

September 14.—In the Maine election, Mayor Oakley C. Curtis (Dem.), of Portland, is chosen Governor by 3500 plurality over Governor Haines (Rep.), with Halbert P. Gardiner (Prog.) third. . . . In Arkansas, Governor Hays (Dem.) is re-elected by 30,000 majority.

September 15.—The railroads in the territory east of the Mississippi and north of the Potomac and Ohio rivers petition the Interstate Commerce Commission for permission to increase freight rates 5 per cent., equivalent to a reopening of the case adversely decided on August 1. . . . In the Maryland Democratic primary, United States Senator John W. Smith is renominated.

September 19.—The Interstate Commerce Commission grants the request of the Eastern railroads for a reopening of the rate case.

## FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

August 26.—The French cabinet is reconstructed on a broad basis, to meet the exigencies of the war; Rene Viviani remains Premier, Theophile Delcasse becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexandre Millerand Minister of War, and Alexandre Ribot Minister of Finance.

August 27.—President Bordas of Santo Domingo resigns, and Dr. Ramon Baez is chosen Provisional President by the Congress.

September 8.—Andrew Fisher forms a cabinet in Australia, the ministry of Premier Cook having resigned as a result of the recent elections.

September 12.—Venustiano Carranza, who assumed presidential powers upon the entry of his Constitutionalist army into the Mexican capital, formally denies the reports of unrest and opposition to his administration.

September 14.—The Rumanian cabinet resigns.

September 15.—General Carranza expresses his intention to turn over the control of the Mexican Government to a Provisional President to be selected by the Constitutionals, and to become a candidate for the Presidency. . . . The British House of Commons passes a Government measure suspending for one year the operation of the Irish Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment bills.

September 18.—King George signs the Irish Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment bills, and the British Parliament is prorogued.

## INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

September 2.—A treaty is signed at Panama, under which the United States is given control of the harbors of Colon and Ancon.

September 10.—Turkey notifies the nations of the world that she has abrogated the conventions under which foreigners in Turkey have been exempt from local jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, and under which other special privileges had been enjoyed.

September 12.—A note is presented to the Turkish Government by Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy, maintaining that the special rights of aliens, being the result of international treaties, can only be abolished through an understanding with the contracting powers; Austria and Germany present a separate note.

September 15.—Treaties are signed at Washington by the British, French, and Spanish ambassadors and the Chinese minister, and by Secretary Bryan representing the United States, which provide that commissions of inquiry shall pass upon disputes that may arise between those countries and the United States and that fail of ordinary diplomatic adjustment. . . . President Wilson orders the withdrawal of United States soldiers from Vera Cruz, internal conditions of Mexico rendering their further presence unnecessary.

## OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

September 1.—Survivors of the Russian North Pole expedition return to Archangel and report the death of Lieutenant Sedov, their leader.

September 3.—Cardinal Giacomo della Chiesa, Archbishop of Bologna, is chosen Supreme Pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church by the College of Cardinals at Rome; the new Pope announces that he will assume the name of Benedict XV.

September 4.—David J. Palmer, of Des Moines, Ia., is elected Commander-in-Chief of the Grand

Army of the Republic, at the national encampment at Detroit.

September 7.—Eight members of the crew of the Stefansson Expedition ship *Karluk*, which was crushed by ice on Wrangel Island, north of Siberia, on January 11, are found by a rescuing party from Nome; three of their comrades died, and eight are missing; Stefansson and four companions have not been heard from for months. . . . President Wilson submits to striking miners and their employers a plan for the settlement of the labor troubles in the Colorado coal field.

September 15.—The United Mine Workers of America accept President Wilson's proposals for a settlement of the Colorado strike.

September 18.—The steam schooner *Francis H. Leggett* is sunk in a collision with an unknown vessel off the Oregon coast; only three of the seventy-five passengers and crew are rescued.

## OBITUARY

August 22.—Judge David D. Shelby, of the United States Court of Appeals, 66. . . . Edgar Thaddeus Welles, a prominent railroad and mining financier, 71.

August 23.—Darius Miller, president of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, 55.

August 24.—Chester B. Jordan, former Governor of New Hampshire, 75. . . . Baron Schlichtis, the noted Russian art collector.

August 25.—Gen. Powell Clayton, ex-Governor, ex-Senator, and for half a century the leading Republican of Arkansas, 90.

August 29.—Margaret Newton Van Cott, widely known as an evangelist, 84.

August 31.—Rt. Rev. Robert McIntyre, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Oklahoma, 62. . . . Henry Harbinson Sinclair, a noted hydroelectric engineer of the Pacific Coast, 56.

September 2.—Rev. Daniel Steele, first president of Syracuse University, 90.

September 4.—William J. Milne, president of the New York State College of Teachers, 71.

September 6.—Sir Stephen Wilson Furness, Bart., the noted British shipbuilder, 42.

September 8.—Sir John Henniker Heaton, famous for his championship of low postage rates, 66. . . . Baron O'Brien, Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, 72.

September 12.—James Ben Ali Haggin, the well-known Kentucky financier and horseman, 87. . . . Charles Welsh, a well-known American author and literary critic, 63.

September 13.—Charles N. Felton, former United States Senator from California, 82. . . . Henry Bratnaber, the widely known California and Alaska mining engineer. . . . Robert Hope-Jones, a famous builder of American organs, 55.

September 16.—James Edward Sullivan, of New York, who achieved world-wide prominence for his promotion of amateur athletics, 52. . . . Col. William R. Hamilton, U. S. A., retired, an authority on military tactics, 69.

September 17.—Edward J. Hall, known as the "father of the long-distance telephone," 60.

September 18.—Mrs. Frank Leslie, formerly prominent in the publishing business, 63.

September 21.—Robert Yelverton Tyrrell, the noted Irish educator and literary critic, 70.



# FRESH GLIMPSES OF THE WAR THROUGH THE CAMERA'S EYE



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BELGIANS INTRENCHED AT TERMONDE

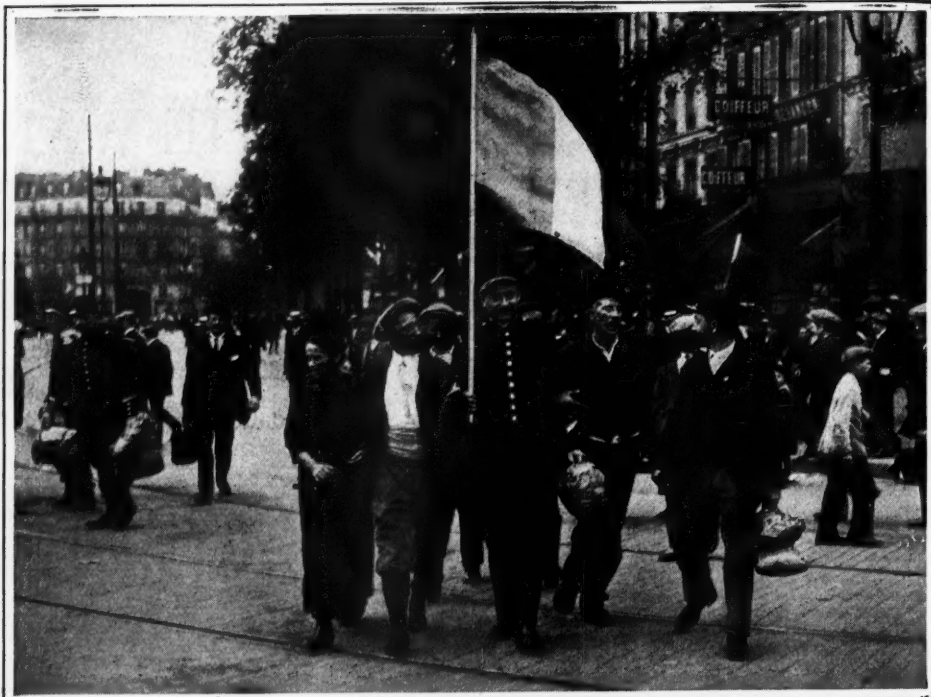


BRITISH TROOPS IN THE COMPIEGNE FOREST



BELGIANS IN THE TRENCHES BEFORE MALINES

ON THE FIRING-LINE

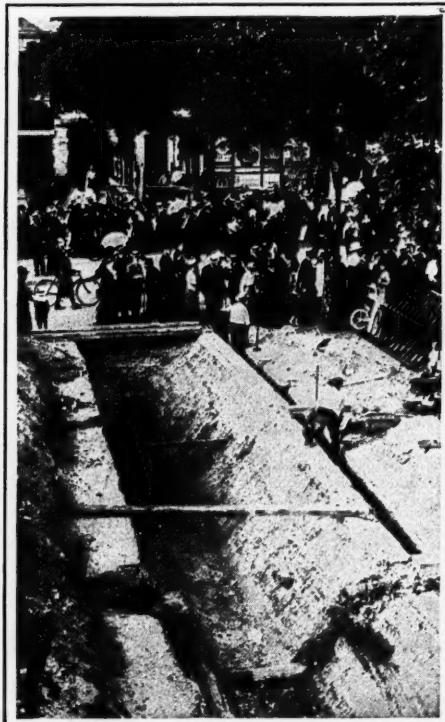


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THE CALL TO THE COLORS IN FRANCE  
(French reservists marching through Paris streets)



GIRLS TAKING THE PLACE OF MEN AS CONDUCTORS



A RIFLE PIT (IN ANTICIPATION OF A SIEGE)

PARIS IN WAR TIME



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THE BRITISH MARINES ARRIVING AT OSTEND



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THE FRATERNAL SPIRIT AMONG THE ALLIES

(On the left we see French and English officers breakfasting together; on the right Belgian girls are welcoming the French troops in the village of Waremmé)



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FRENCH INFANTRY ON THE DOUBLE QUICK, ADVANCING



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BELGIANS BEHIND BARRICADES IN THE STREETS OF LOUVAIN



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GERMAN ARTILLERY





TO NEW POSITIONS AS THE GERMAN TROOPS RETREAT



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GERMAN INFANTRY FIGHTING BEHIND EARTHWORKS

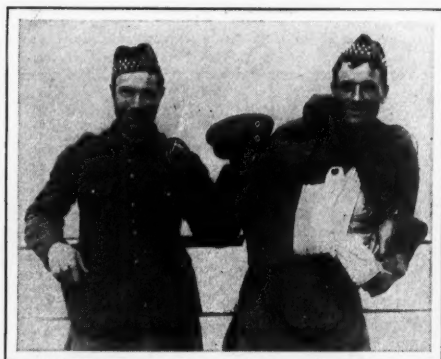


GOING INTO ACTION



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BELGIAN RED CROSS NURSES BRINGING IN A WOUNDED BUGLER



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WOUNDED BUT HAPPY  
(Scotch troopers with their trophy—a Uhlan's cap)



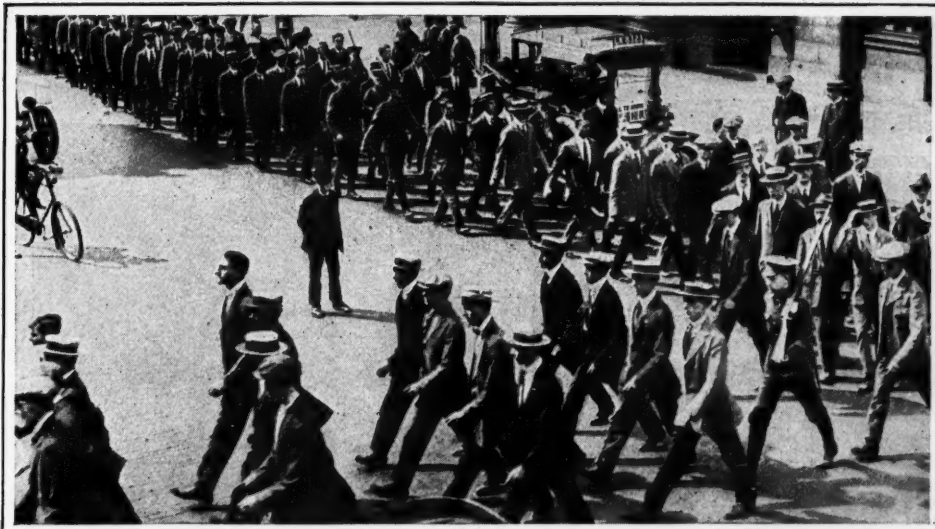
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MINISTERING TO THE WOUNDED IN A HOSPITAL  
NEAR PARIS



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

A CORPS OF ENGLISH RED CROSS NURSES READY FOR DUTY



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**SOME OF ENGLAND'S RAW MATERIAL**  
(Recruits marching into the Somerset House Yard)



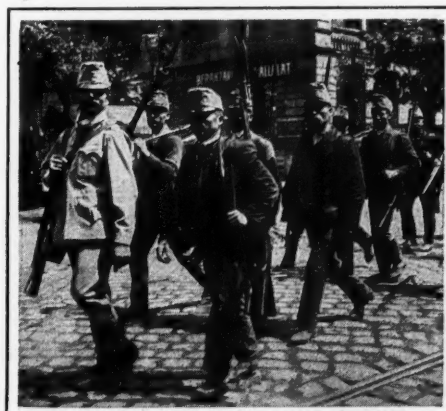
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**FRENCH RESERVIST BIDDING HIS WIFE GOODBYE**



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

**THE BELGIAN MOTHER AND HER NEW SOLDIER SON**



Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

**MEMBERS OF THE AUSTRIAN LANDSTURM**  
**THE FRESH LEVIES**



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**GERMAN RESERVISTS OFF FOR THE FRONT**



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LOUVAIN: THE CHARRED WALLS OF THE UNIVERSITY (GERMAN CAVALRY IN THE FOREGROUND)



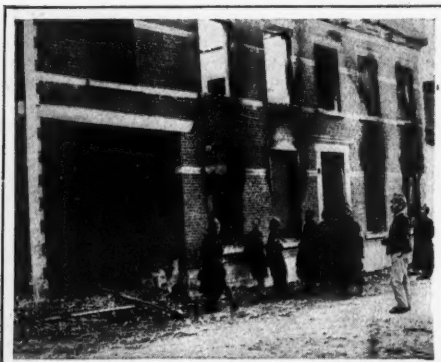
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AT MALINES, AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT



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A ROW OF WRECKED HOUSES AT MELLE



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SOME OF HAELEN'S PORTION OF DESTRUCTION

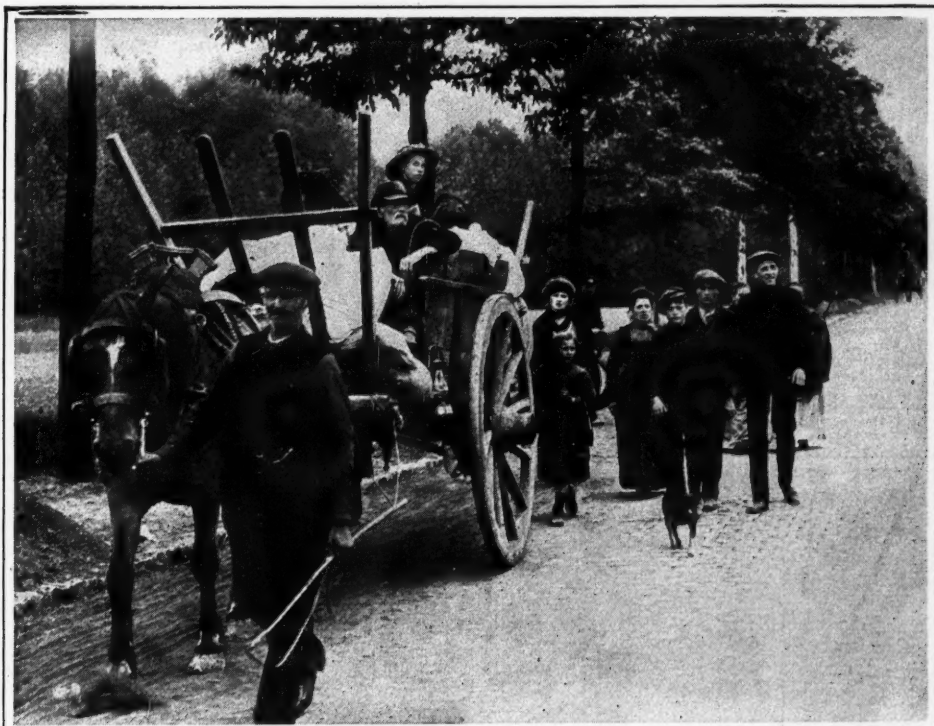


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RUINED GATES TO TERMONDE'S RUINS

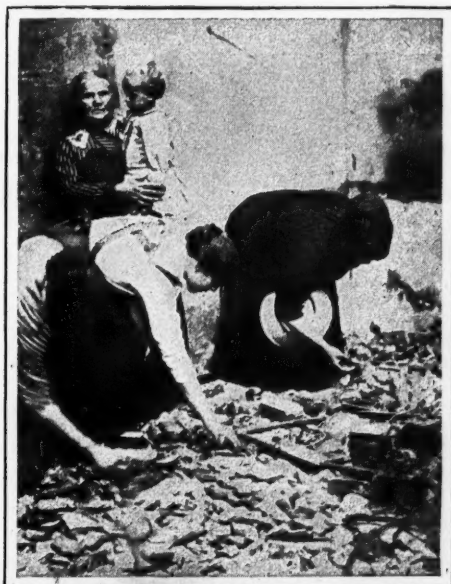
# WAR RAVAGED BELGIUM





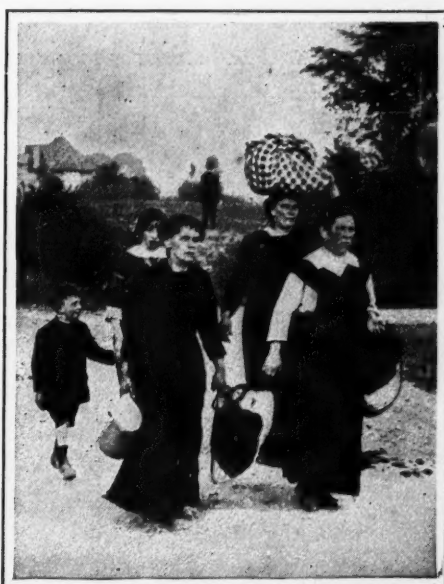
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BELGIAN PEASANTS FLEEING FROM TIRLEMONT TOWARD BRUSSELS, IN ADVANCE OF THE GERMAN INVADERS



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BELGIAN WOMEN AT MELLE SEARCHING THE RUINS OF THEIR HOMES



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LEAVING BRUSSELS WITH AS MUCH OF THEIR BELONGINGS AS THEY CAN CARRY

REFUGEES AND RUINED HOMES IN BELGIUM



SOME BRAVNY YORKSHIRE LADS MOBILIZED AT CAMBRIDGE



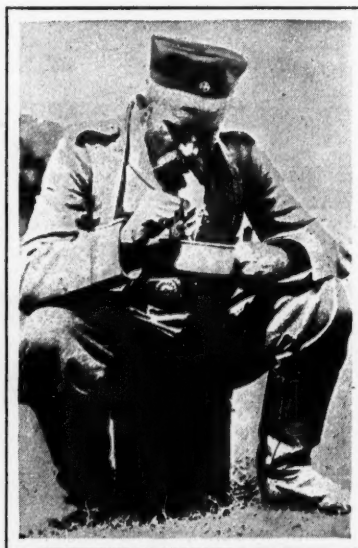
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MEAL TIME AT LIÉGE—GERMAN OFFICERS (ON THE LEFT), BELGIAN SOUP KITCHEN (ON THE RIGHT)



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FRENCH SOLDIERS CARRYING THEIR DINNER



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THE GERMAN SOLDIER'S SOUP



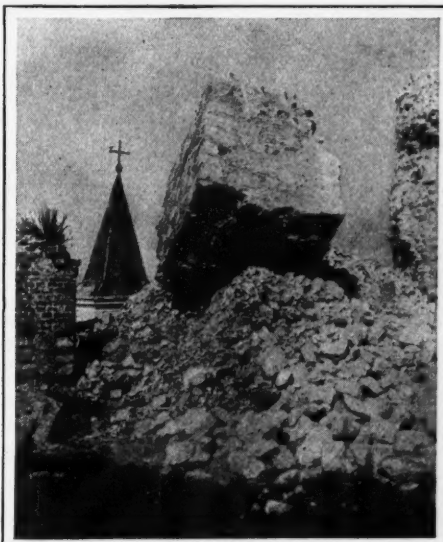
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AUSTRIAN SHARPSHOOTERS IN A MOUNTAIN PASS NEAR THE DANUBE



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A SERBIAN SHARPSHOOTER ON THE BELGRADE  
SIDE OF THE DANUBE



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EFFECT OF AUSTRIAN SHELLS ON BELGRADE'S  
FORTRESS (THE CROSS STILL STANDS)



RUSSIAN CAVALRY ON THE MARCH



JOFFRE (FRENCH)



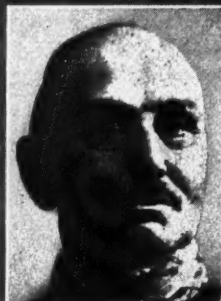
SIR JOHN FRENCH (BRITISH)



PAU (FRENCH)

(B) Bain

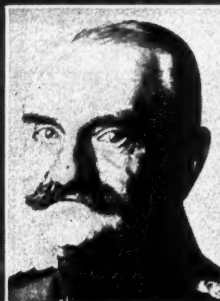
FRENCH AND BRITISH ARMY CHIEFS FIGHTING THE GERMANS IN FRANCE



VON KLUCK



VON HEERINGEN



VON BÜLOW



VON DER GOLTZ

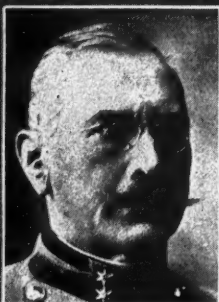
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GERMAN COMMANDERS ON THE DASH FROM BELGIUM



FREDERICK WILLIAM



DANKL



AUFFENBERG



ARCHDUKE FREDERICK

THE GERMAN CROWN PRINCE AND THE AUSTRIAN COMMANDERS



DMITRIEV



GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS



RENNENKAMPF

LEADERS OF RUSSIA'S WESTWARD MARCH INTO GERMANY AND AUSTRIA



# ALLIES VERSUS GERMANY: STRATEGY OF THE CAMPAIGNS

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

(Editor of the New York Evening Sun)

[*The REVIEW OF REVIEWS has secured this lucid and illuminating account of two months of war, written with a brilliance and directness that is very unusual, in order to enable its readers to see a clear, intelligible, and correct picture of the vast, soul-trying drama that is being enacted on the fields of France and the marches of eastern Germany and in the Austrian province of Galicia.*—THE EDITOR.]

## I. THE GERMAN OFFENSIVE

IN any review of the military operations of the European War during September, the history of the German offensive thrust into France necessarily commands attention almost to the exclusion of all else. In Poland and Galicia mighty battles have been fought; victories destined perhaps to contribute more than the western battles to the next map-making in Europe were achieved. But it was the struggle from Brussels to the gates of Paris that held the attention of the world.

Primarily this was because the supreme military machine of the world was here subjected to its first trial in nearly half a century. From Sedan to the Battle of the Marne the German army had been held the greatest military weapon in the world, and armed with it the German Kaiser had dominated the counsels of Europe during his whole reign. Since Waterloo destroyed the Napoleonic army no troops, save those of the German Empire, had enjoyed an equal fame.

In the trial of September, too, the German army showed itself not unworthy of its reputation. To measure the magnitude of the German offensive thrust must be the work of general staffs of the future, but at the present moment, close to the event, the spectacle of a nation launching more than a million of magnificently trained, fully equipped men, whose courage equalled their efficiency, in one gigantic drive, sending them in three weeks forward over more than two hundred miles, from victory to victory in battles far surpassing the Napoleonic struggles in numbers engaged, and rivalling the Russo-Japanese War in the sacrifice of life, seems in all our written history comparable only with dispatch of the myriads of Xerxes against Greece and the Armada of Spain against England.

## II. THE ATTACK UPON FRANCE

In the examination of the gigantic military operation three distinct things must be considered. It is necessary, first, to explain why Germany should have decided to utilize practically all of her enormous military machine in a thrust at France; second, why the route through Belgium was selected, despite the fact that the violation of Belgian neutrality insured the appearance of Great Britain in the ranks of her enemies; third, it remains to review the actual military operations themselves in their three separate phases, the drive at the left flank, the thrust at the center, and the recoil.

German attack upon France was dictated by the following considerations: In a war with France, Russia, Great Britain, and Serbia, having only Austria as an ally, it was certain that when all her foes had their military strength in the field, Germany would be decisively outnumbered. But at the outset of the conflict only France could mobilize with approximately the same promptitude as Germany. The size of Russia, the inadequacy of her system of communications, the comparative inefficiency of her general staff, as Berlin saw it, the long delay that would be necessary before Great Britain could put anything but a small expeditionary force in the field, all these circumstances combined to give Germany a period of some weeks during which she could strike at France.

If, while England was raising an army and Russia slowly coming up, restrained by a thin screen of Germans and most of the field army of Austria, Germany could deal France a swift, tremendous, decisive blow, not defeating but destroying her military force, repeating in 1914 the successes of 1870 on a colossal scale, then Germany might hope to be finally rid of one foe before the others were up. At

Paris she could dictate French submission and turn her victorious army against Russia.

The Kaiser's position was precisely that of Napoleon at the outset of his last campaign. In Belgium, British and Prussian armies were on foot; from Austria, Russia, the rest of Europe, new armies were sure to come; Napoleon's plan was to crush the armies in Belgium before the others came up, and deal with them in turn. For this purpose he fought the Waterloo campaign.

### III. THE ADVANCE THROUGH BELGIUM

Precisely the same necessities compelled the Germans to go through Belgium as inspired their attack upon France. Granted that for six weeks they were free to use their massive military machine against France almost exclusively, it was equally necessary that they should have a way to get to France promptly, to be at the throat of the enemy without delay. Hence it was impossible to attack France from the Franco-German frontier. Here, from the very morning of her terrible defeat in 1870, France had been building tremendous forts. Verdun, Toul, Epinal, Belfort barred this approach and behind them was a second line hardly less formidable.

It was true that none of these fortresses was impregnable, but to smash through them with the whole field army of France manning them,—this would consume time and there was lacking to the Germans time for such an operation. Not through the Vosges could their swift and terrible thrust be sent. There remained the Belgian gateway. Westward from Aix-la-Chapelle in Germany to Liège in Belgium ran one of the great trunk railroads of Europe. West of Liège the line opened into several double-track routes across the plain to Brussels. From Brussels south to Paris yet more trunk lines flowed over level country destitute of large rivers, high mountains, or other natural obstacles to the quick advance of an invading army.

If Germany were to crush France by one blow, then, here was her only possible avenue of approach. Taking it, she could hope to come at Paris and overwhelm French military strength either by weight of numbers or skill of her strategical dispositions within the time allotted her. Accordingly, without the slightest hesitation, she chose the Belgian route and the first roar of hostile artillery in the world war was heard under the forts of Liège, almost before the first declaration of war was forth.

### IV. THE SHADOW OF SEDAN

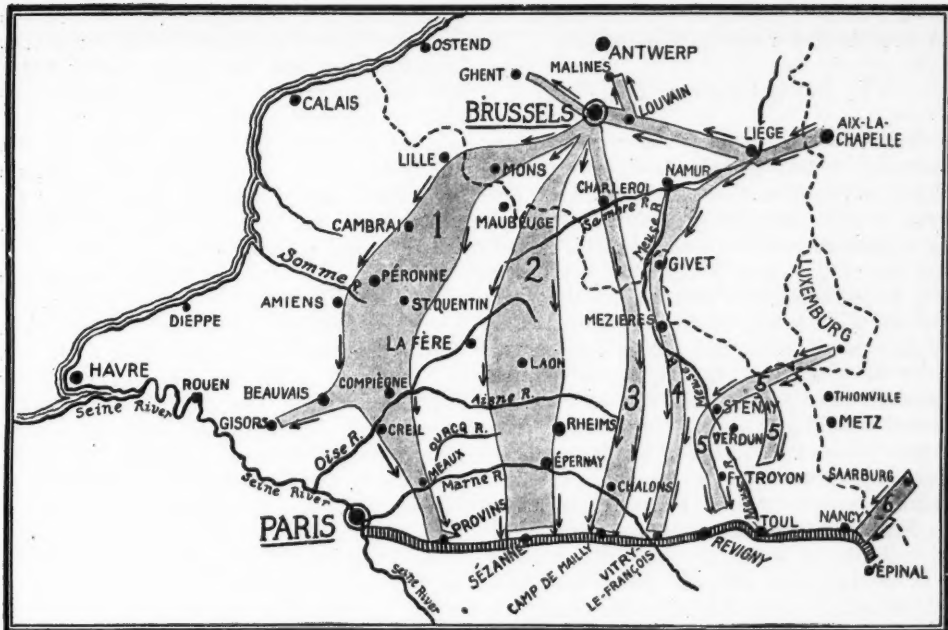
From the attack on Liège on August 4 until the German mobilization was complete, a period of twelve days, the press of the world was filled with the reports of the gallantry of the Belgian army, which with apparent success fought off the cavalry screens sent forward by the Germans while they gathered their masses. In the first flush of Belgian resistance the suspicion went abroad that German military strength had been overestimated, that the machine was breaking down at the very start. But for all disrespect shown in these days the press of the Allies was to pay dearly and without delay.

Thus on or about August 17 the German invading army, hardly less than a million strong, finally stepped forward, crushed down Belgian resistance with scarcely an effort, sent the shattered fragments of the Belgian army back upon Antwerp, occupied Brussels on August 20, and wheeling to the left began its tremendous drive at Paris, opening east and west as it advanced.

Now what was the state of the French army on August 20, when this overwhelming blow was about to fall? At least two-thirds of its number were fighting far off along the Meuse and the Vosges. Before Nancy the much-advertised "counter-offensive" had come to grief and after a brief foray into German Lorraine had been sent home shattered. South before Belfort another invading French army clung to Muelhausen, which it had taken, lost, and retaken. Along the Meuse a third experiment in the offensive had ended equally unhappily.

On the north between Paris and the German flood a few army corps were barely beginning to take position just beyond the French frontier along the Sambre from Charleroi to Namur and along the Meuse from Namur to Mézières, where junction was made with the beaten force retiring from the recent offensive. Westward toward Lille and about Mons two British army corps were also taking position, but were not yet ready. All told, there were perhaps in the north Anglo-French troops amounting to a third of the German mass.

When they wheeled left in Brussels and started toward Paris the Germans were actually nearer to the French capital than either of the great French armies on the east. If they could crush the allied force before them, or outflank it and roll it east away from Paris, they could envelop the whole military force of France in a net pinned down at one



THE MARCH OF THE GERMAN ARMIES INTO FRANCE

(The shaded portions indicate the sweep of the different armies: 1. Von Kluck, 2. Von Bülow, 3. Von Hausen, 4. Grand Duke Albrecht, 5. Crown Prince, 6. Von Heeringen, coming from Lorraine)

end on the Swiss frontier and carried at the other by the swiftly moving right of the German advance. With three of their six weeks still remaining, the Germans were in a position to repeat Sedan on a truly colossal scale. To this effort the following ten days were devoted.

### V. BY THE LEFT FLANK

For the American the simplest way to grasp the next ten days of the campaign is to recall the advance of Grant toward Richmond in 1864. From the Wilderness to Cold Harbor Grant's whole effort was to crush Lee by frontal attack, since his army was twice as large as the Confederate, and at the same time, moving by the left flank, to interpose between Lee and Richmond. The problem of the French was Lee's, to inflict the greatest possible losses, strike back at every favorable moment, and still keep the road to the capital open and check the deadly drive at their own left flank.

On August 23 the first blow fell. At the same time the allied center near Charleroi and the right on the Meuse near Givet were assailed, overwhelmed, forced back after desperate fighting, while Namur, to the amazement of the world, capitulated. The British on the left about Mons repulsed several savage attacks, but were involved in the general

retreat. This was rather an attempt to destroy by sheer weight than to outflank, and only by rapid retreat was disaster avoided.

The second blow came upon August 26 and fell upon the British alone. Standing about Cambrai, Le Cateau, Landrecies, and preparing to withdraw, the British army, two corps against five, were suddenly assailed by a huge German army which struck at their front and at the same time reached for their flanks. This was the critical moment, not merely for the British, threatened with annihilation as Sir John French has reported, but for the whole northern army, for if the British were destroyed the whole left flank of the allied forces was gone, the center and the left would be rolled up as the British had been, the northern army would be destroyed, and the mass of the Germans would be between Paris and the eastern armies, could surround them, destroy them by sheer weight of numbers, and turn then to its Russian task.

But the British army was not destroyed. Fighting as it fought at Waterloo, with the same obstinacy, tenacity, imperturbability, it finally shook off its assailants, staggered back, won clear and went home, dealing terrific blows as it went and inflicting losses which were enormous. When next it stood, fresh French troops protected its left, and with its escape the German move by the left

flank was, as it turned out later, blocked, but by how narrow a margin is now plain.

## VI. NEWS FROM THE EAST

Yet as the German armies were winning their first victory on fields familiar to the students of the Waterloo campaign, their generals received news of evil omen. Precisely as Napoleon, at the moment he was launching his attack upon Wellington, learned of the appearance of Prussians in the fields toward Plancenoit, the German commanders at Charleroi heard that Russia had stepped over into East Prussia, won several victories, isolated Koenigsberg, and was driving forward toward the Vistula furiously. Evidently Russian mobilization had been quicker than was expected and at the end of the third week it was necessary to deplete the armies in France. Two corps then were sent, while the Battle of Cambrai was still unfought.

Cambrai won, but the great enveloping drive balked, there was yet worse news from the East, this time from Galicia. Here the main Austrian field army was in distress, had met with disaster about Lemberg, the first real disaster of the war; five corps had been crushed, half the Austrian force in that region. Unsupported, the Austrian army might be annihilated. Now it was necessary to send east, not alone the two Austrian corps, hitherto aiding in the attack upon France, but five German corps. To make the matter worse, here was a Serbian army, having routed four more Austrian corps at the Jedar, driving north for Hungary.

Having sent seven corps east, two to East Prussia, four to Galicia, the advantage of numbers was no longer with the Germans in France. Five corps were withdrawn from Alsace and this relieved an equal number of French corps, which moving on interior lines might soon be expected in Picardy or Champagne. It was Waterloo over again, with the Russians playing the Prussian rôle and more and more insistently demanding the attention of the very troops relied upon to give the fatal blow to the defenders, hard-pressed now, having narrowly escaped disaster, but still unbroken.

## VII. THE BLOW AT THE CENTER

By September 1 it was plain that the German move by the left flank had failed. Steadily retreating, the French left had come squarely home under the guns of Paris. The center following stood behind the Marne

River; the left prolonged the line to the Argonne, where it joined with the armies of the Meuse and the Vosges facing north and east respectively. It was no longer possible to envelop a wing. But it was still possible to break through the center, cut the line between Paris and the eastern fortresses as a flood sweeps away a dam resting on either wall of a valley, destroy the center, and then deal with the wings in detail.

For the Germans the stroke was necessary, since they still had the whole force of France to dispose of; it had retreated, but it had not been shattered. If it could not be destroyed, since Russia was pounding ahead terribly in Galicia, requiring larger and larger depletions of western armies, then a retreat from France was inevitable, for already the Germans were outnumbered in both fields and the advantage due to better concentration at the start was passing rapidly, had perhaps vanished. Hence the decision to strike at the center.

To the American this change in plan is best described by recalling the course of Lee at Gettysburg. On the second day the whole weight of his attack was upon the left, his necessity to get Round Top, roll up the left, and dispose of the Union army. By a narrow margin he failed and on the third day his effort was to break the center against which he launched Pickett in his famous charge.

But as the advantage on the third day at Gettysburg was all with Meade, so at this point in the campaign in France it rested with Joffre. He had had two weeks to repair the earlier blunders. He had superior numbers, his flanks were safe, he could fight upon the field he selected and on this field he had been preparing for many days. Finally, his troops were fresh, reinforced by new corps, were close to their bases, could be easily reinforced and supplied. The Germans on their side were exhausted by efforts unparalleled in war, their losses had been terrible, they were far from their bases, the railroads were destroyed, the roads wrecked, the odds unmistakable.

## VIII. THE BATTLE OF THE MARNE

General Von Kluck, who commanded the German advance, must also have realized, by September 1, that the move by the left flank had failed. The allied left was back too near to Paris to leave any chance for cutting in behind it. To take a homely figure, the allied army from Mons to Compiègne had been in the position of a closing door; it



hung on the barrier fortresses to the east and was swinging closed on Paris. General Von Kluck had been endeavoring to get in the doorway before it closed. By this time the crack was too narrow and a day or two later it banged shut on Paris.

As Von Kluck advanced, the armies of Von Buelow, Von Hausen, the Grand Duke Albrecht, and the Crown Prince had kept pace, while the allied armies facing them had given way, not because of the pressure of the armies in front of them, but because the withdrawal of the Anglo-French on the left exposed their flank. Now the left stood on Paris, the right on the barrier fortresses, the center south of the Marne River on a slightly curving line passing through Montmirail, Sézanne, La Fère Champenoise, Camp de Mailly, Vitry-le-François, to Revigny on the Ornain, just north of Bar-le-Duc. North of this point Verdun and the barrier fortresses above Toul were now half surrounded by the Crown Prince's army coming west by Stenay, and had been left to their own resources.

Between Vitry and Paris the railway distance is 127 miles; the front of the Allies was rather shorter. On this line they had concentrated an army subsequently estimated at 1,100,000. In addition the garrison at Paris counted 500,000. Against this the Germans did not have above 900,000. To succeed it was necessary to throw their full weight upon one point. They selected the center and in the next few days the whole drive was between Sézanne and Vitry, centering at Camp de Mailly, happily for the French the field on which for years their artillery had been tested and their artillerymen practised. Nowhere else in all France could their shooting be expected to be half so good.

The first operation was Von Kluck's. On September 1 he was north and as much west as east of Paris. Gathering in all his out-riding detachments he marched southeast across the front of the Allies before Paris and then south across the Marne. His advance if continued would have brought him to the left of the French center, which he would have struck on the flank, while Von Buelow struck it full in front. The result would have been disastrous if he had been able to carry out his design, but he failed.

His failure was due to the fact that he was attempting to execute a movement which could only be successful if the garrison in Paris was too small to take the

offensive and if the Anglo-French troops who had faced him from the Sambre to the Marne were definitively out of the game. Otherwise, when he had passed Paris going south, the garrison could strike toward his flank and rear while the Anglo-French force advanced against his front. Then he would be precisely in the same peril that Sir John French had been in at Cambrai. Only the prompt collapse of the allied center could help him.

No sooner had he touched Provins than the trap was sprung. At the same moment the Paris garrison struck his flank and rear, the British and French his front. The two lines closed upon him as a pair of scissors upon a sheet of paper. For two days he was in deadly peril and his escape here was a supreme triumph of generalship. But in escaping he at last relinquished the offensive. More than this, in going back he opened the flank and rear of the German center which had battled terrifically but had not pierced the allied center. That in turn had to halt, concentrate, and start back; then the left was in the air and had to follow suit. By September 12 the whole German force was going back followed by French and English troops tasting at last the joy of victory.

This was the answer of French strategy to German, a retreat on a selected position,—a battle at last with every chance in favor of the Allies, after three weeks of delay which brought the Russians up and compelled weakening the German battle line in France to save the eastern frontier. To gain this time, this advantage, General Joffre had sacrificed cities and provinces to flame and sword. It was the calculation of a strong man, who trusted his nation and his government, but neither the nation nor the general was unworthy of such confidence.

## IX. THE RECOIL

When the Germans started back and the whole allied line, like the soldiers who obeyed the famous command, "Up, guards, and at them," at Waterloo, flung themselves into the pursuit, the situation of the two armies was strangely reversed. From Cambrai to Paris, Von Kluck had been upon the allied flank struggling to get behind it and crumple it up and after it the center and left. Now the garrison of Paris, done with garrison work for a time, was on his flank reaching for his lines of communication, snapping up his ammunition

trains in the first hours of the advance. Now he was racing for his life to get ahead of the flank thrust and precisely as the Anglo-French left in retreat dragged the whole force with it, Von Kluck was dragging the whole German army.

Back over the same roads on which they had advanced, suffering alike from weariness, hunger, lack of ammunition, but still moving almost as fast as when they came, the German army toiled, evacuating town after town, whose capture had been a famous victory in Berlin bulletins, leaving behind straggling thousands and much of the impedimenta of war, beaten upon by torrential rains, assailed by troops still fresh and rested, followed by British cavalry led by Sir John French, possibly the greatest of living cavalymen,—such was the German recoil. Again and again the weary lines halted and the artillery fought off the attack. From the Seine to the Aisne, there was no rout. So far the German army showed itself quite as great in retreat as the Allies. So far it was not a Waterloo, but it was a Gettysburg,—a Gettysburg followed by a prompt, sweeping, tremendous pursuit. The thing that Meade failed to do, Joffre and French did not hesitate to undertake. And so, having raced from the frontier to Paris to get on the allied flank, the Germans raced from Paris toward the frontier to save their own flank. For them the world had turned upside down; for the historians it was a marvelous repetition of a tremendous drama.

For fifty years the farthest point in Pickett's charge at Gettysburg has been pointed out as the high-water mark of the Confederacy. The high-water mark of German invasion was Lagny, seventeen miles from Paris and five from the outer ring of forts. Von Kluck reached it on September 6, thirteen days earlier than Von Moltke in 1870.

## X. THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN

The German attack upon France was a desperate effort to end a war, so far as France was concerned, by a single dash. The Russian operations were from the outset frankly the beginning of a campaign. Nor is it possible yet to review, even with the relative clarity official statements for the western field permit, the progress of the terrific battles along the Vistula, the Dneister, and the San. Only the broader outlines can be sketched.

For the Russians two tasks were neces-

sarily set. Beginning at the earliest possible moment they must exercise pressure upon the German forces in East Prussia and compel the recall of troops from the French field of operations; second, they must crush Austrian military strength before prospective German victories in the west should release army corps to join in the eastern battles.

The geography of the Russian campaign is simple. Russian Poland projects far into the bulk of Austro-German territory,—is, in fact, more than half surrounded by German East Prussia and Austrian Galicia. The westernmost town of Russian Poland is little more than 200 miles from Berlin and the road lies through the German fortress of Posen. On this road it might be expected that Russia would thrust out.

But such expectation wholly disregarded the military situation. Had Russia sent her main army this way, it would have been open to attack on both flanks by the troops in hostile territory north and south and its communications with Russia might have been cut behind it almost before it had crossed the frontier. Because of this, Russian mobilization was based not on Warsaw in the middle of Russian Poland, but on the Memel-Czernowitz line far behind. The first operations were directed not at invading Posen, but at crushing German troops in East Prussia and Austrian in Galicia, thus clearing the flanks for the main advance.

Therefore the first fighting was on the eastern frontier of Prussia, about Gumbinnen, where a considerable Russian army stepped over the line, defeated the Germans, rolled them back to Königsberg, while a second army coming north from Warsaw struck at Allenstein south of Danzig. This invasion, barely three weeks after war had been declared, compelled the transfer of two German corps from the west to east. Once they had arrived, Russian invasion was checked, Russian armies wholly defeated and sent home, but the two corps had still to be kept on the field.

Meantime operations far to the south demonstrated that the East Prussian operation had been minor. For presently about Lemberg, in Galicia, a huge Russian force,—the Austrians estimated it at a million,—began to exercise pressure. Its left on the Carpathians, its right in Russian Poland before Lublin, toward which the Austrian left was striking, its center before Lemberg, this Russian army advanced through ten days of furious fighting. The battle ended in Austrian disaster. On the right, Halicz on



THE POLISH LANDS WHERE RUSSIANS ARE FIGHTING GERMANS AND AUSTRIANS

the Dniester was carried by storm and the defending force routed. Two days before, Lemberg fell, abandoned by a defeated army hastening west toward Przemysl, the chief fortress of Galicia.

The fall of Lemberg was announced on September 1, with the report of the capture of 80,000 Austrians and the killing and wounding of 50,000 more. Five corps, five of the eight non-Slav corps which make up the Austrian army, were crushed. As for the Austrian left moving on Lublin, it was left in the air, and had to turn back, fighting all the time to get to the cover of Przemysl and Jaroslav. It, too, met with disaster. By September 16 Russian official bulletins announced the capture of 250,000 Austrian troops, a third of the eastern army, together with cannon innumerable and a wealth of material, the flight of the survivors, the investment of Przemysl, of Cracow, the appearance of Cossacks on the crests of the Carpathians toward Hungary, above all the beginning of the main Russian advance to Berlin by Breslau and Silesia.

The campaign in East Prussia had recalled two German corps before the Battle of Cambrai, the victory of Lemberg five more, before the battle of the Marne. Eastward, too, came two corps which Austria had rashly enough lent to Germany to crush France. Such was Austro-German contempt for Russian military strength.

In the west, France had demonstrated that

her army was not that of Sedan. In the east, Russia proved that the lessons of Mukden were not forgotten. By her victories in Galicia she had also, by September 17, apparently destroyed Austrian military strength. Her task had been to weaken German strength in France and crush Austria; she had performed both tasks beyond the expectations of her allies.

## XI. FROM THE MARNE TO THE AISNE

It remains to review briefly the operations from the Marne to the Aisne,—operations still continuing at the moment these lines are written. When General Von Kluck fought his way out of the trap set for him near Paris and started north, he was exactly in the position of the Allies during the long retreat from the Sambre to the Marne. All that time German strategy had labored, first to encircle the allied left and roll it up, interposing between it and Paris; second, to crush the allied army when at last it made a stand at the Marne. Now the Allies on Von Kluck's front and flank were driving at the same object.

From September 7 to 14 Von Kluck went north. On the 13th, with their right flank protected by the Oise, beyond which to the west a strong flank guard stood at Noyon, seventy miles north of Paris, the German forces began to take root behind Soissons,

with the Aisne in their front. Under pressure they gave slightly and stood on the heights to the north from Laon east through Craonne, across the Aisne north of Rheims to the Argonne, beyond which the Crown Prince was struggling desperately to get out of trouble. On this line Von Buelow, Von Hausen, and the Grand Duke Albrecht had taken position, falling back and keeping in touch with Von Kluck.

In all this time French strategy revealed itself in an effort to get on the right flank of Von Kluck, in pressing hard upon the center at the same time, and in a hard drive to catch the Crown Prince. In the general advance of the Germans, the mission of the Crown Prince had been to surround the barrier fortresses of Verdun and Toul, while General Von Heeringen, coming west against Nancy from Alsace-Lorraine, had endeavored to cut them off to the south. Had this move succeeded there would then have been opened a short road between the Germans and their own fortresses and railroads at Metz and Thionville, and the long and dangerous route through Belgium could be abandoned and the thousands of soldiers occupied in guarding it released. When it failed, it left the Crown Prince west of Verdun, still untaken, with his line of retreat in peril, because the French at Verdun were on both sides of the Meuse and nearer than he to his road home.

Thus in the fighting that followed and still continues, the object of the French was and is to attempt to turn both flanks of the German position between the Oise and the Meuse, while at the same time exerting pressure on the center to force a general retreat out of France.

As for the Germans' plan, it has not yet been fully revealed. Their stand might mean that they were making a tremendous rear-guard fight to let their heavy artillery, traveling over muddy roads, get safely away. It

might mean that they were endeavoring, by severe resistance in the center and on the right, to prevent the Allies from sending reinforcements against the Crown Prince. But aside from these defensive operations, all preliminary to a further retreat, this time behind the Meuse, it might also mean that the Germans, having failed in their first great drive to destroy the French army on the Marne, had fallen back to a selected position, strongly fortified in advance, to refit, to replenish their ammunition exhausted in the recent fighting, to await the arrival of reinforcements from East Prussia before advancing again.

If the last were the case, it might be expected that presently they would begin to strike out to regain the offensive, and certain movements about September 17 seemed to confirm such a view. As for the Allies, it became a matter of gravest importance for them to keep the Germans on the defensive, to compel them to continue the retreat before they were strengthened by new regiments, for if they resumed the offensive the victory on the Marne might prove to have been only a technical victory and the battle have to be fought over again.

The Battle of Cambrai proved to be the defeat of the German plan to envelop the Allies and achieve a second Sedan. The Battle of the Marne, like the Battle of Gettysburg, was a victory for an army standing and accepting a battle which, if unfavorable, might have brought national disaster. The Battle of the Aisne, still undecided, now, seems to be a contest to determine whether the Allies can drive the Germans out of France, put them definitely on the defensive in the western field, or whether, after a brief retreat and a short stand on the defensive, they can resume their march on Paris, again driving defeated forces before them.



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# THE WAR AS AFFECTED BY NEW INVENTIONS

BY WALDEMAR KAEMPFERT

*[Since the close of our Civil War there has been a complete revolution in the methods and mechanism of war-making, of which Americans,—thanks to our national policy of peace with the world,—have remained, for the most part, blissfully ignorant. The brief war with Spain in 1898 taught us little, although it signalized the introduction of the Mauser rifle and of smokeless powder. The developments of the present European war are quite beyond comprehension without at least an elementary knowledge of recent military inventions. We are glad to present to our readers this succinct and graphic interpretation of the modern enginery of war as it is now being applied on Europe's battlefields. The author is the managing editor of the "Scientific American," and his reputation in that field is heightened by this contribution.—THE EDITOR.]*

IT is fought as much with electricity and gasoline, as with powder and shot, this war of the nations. Rifles and machine guns, field pieces and howitzers there are in plenty, every one of which is as complicated as an automatic piano player. It is not the instruments of destruction, however, that drive home the extent to which mechanism is employed in warfare, but the dynamos that feed current to searchlights whose long, rigid white pencils of light alternately sweep the sky for aircraft and the terrain opposite for advancing infantry; the telegraph and the telephone net that spreads out from the tent of a commanding general to the very firing line; the mixing machines that supply concrete for anchoring heavy mortars, which batter down fortresses; the gasworks that travel on rails and on highways and generate hydrogen for dirigible balloons; the traction engines that haul heavy cannon and caissons; the automobiles and the aeroplanes that whirr over roads and through the air; and the self-propelled machine shops in which broken-down engines can be repaired.

From the rifle placed in the hands of an infantryman to the dirigible silhouetted against the sky, there is not a single mechanism that has not been scientifically studied in physical and chemical laboratories and on proving grounds to note its merits and its limitations. Most of these destructive devices have been evolved as the result of invention systematically conducted for a longer period and at a greater cost than the investigations carried on by physicians to discover a cure for cancer. Ballistics is probably more advanced than bacteriology. Scientific thought has been more intensively applied to discover a way of reducing the erosion of guns by modern smokeless powders than to

the mitigation of pellagra's destructive effects among the peasantry of Europe. In the decade that has elapsed since the Russian-Japanese war, field artillery has been more markedly improved than agricultural machinery.

And yet despite this immense amount of real scientific inquiry into the surest way of killing the greatest possible number of men in the shortest possible time, war remains in principle what it was when Xerxes invaded Greece and when Hannibal crossed the Alps. Force your enemy into an untenable position—that always was and always will be the sum and substance of warcraft. Three hundred years ago a soldier was killed in a hand-to-hand encounter. At the present time he is more apt to be killed by a man whom he has never seen. The human arm has been artificially lengthened and strengthened.

## LONGER BATTLE LINES IN THIS WAR

Improvement in mechanism has been met by changes in tactics. The armies in Europe are fighting along fronts over one hundred miles long, not only because 250,000 men out of a total of two millions on one side are engaged at a time, but because the infantry rifle and the field piece are so accurate and so deadly that men cannot be as thickly massed as they were in Napoleon's day, or as late as the Franco-Prussian war. At Austerlitz 75,000 Frenchmen fought along an eight-mile front; at Wagram 170,000 Frenchmen along a ten-mile front. At Gravelotte 185,000 Germans formed a line five miles long. Then came the South African war and with it the small-calibre magazine rifle that demonstrated the necessity of thinning out the fighting line until the final charge. But not until armies comparable in size with those

now upon the battlefield had been led against an enemy, not, in a word, until the Russian-Japanese war had been fought, was it found necessary to make those radical changes in tactical regulations in accordance with which the present campaigns in France, eastern Prussia, and Austria are conducted.

At Yalu, General Kuroki distributed 40,000 men in a line five miles long,—exactly the same front occupied by the 185,000 Germans at Gravelotte. At Mukden, Russian and Japanese armies numbering each over 300,000 men opposed each other along a front seventy-five miles long. Kuropatkin sometimes had only one man for every four paces in the trenches. Since every commanding officer in Europe has learned the lesson of the Manchurian campaign by heart, it is certain that there are not more than 4000 to 5000 men to the mile along the fighting fronts of Europe, instead of six times that many as in the Franco-Prussian war.

#### IMPROVED RIFLES AND BULLETS

It must be a marvelously deadly infantry rifle which has so far reduced the masses engaged for a given mile. Its range is a mile and a quarter, on the average, and its bullet whistles through the air at the rate of about 2500 feet a second when it leaves the muzzle. The German rifle propels its projectile at the muzzle velocity of 2952 feet a second, and is in that respect superior to any military rifle in the world. On the other hand the French rifle has a longer range by about one-quarter of a mile.

By France the "D" bullet is used, by Germany the "S" bullet. The difference between the two is largely one of shape. Both are pointed at the forward end; but the "D" bullet is longer and tapers off slightly toward the rear, whereas the German "S" terminates abruptly. Of the two the French bullet is the better because it churns up the air less. The German bullet's greater speed is obtained because it is lighter than the French and because it is propelled from the rifle by a heavier charge of explosive.

The energy of each type of bullet at all ranges has been mathematically studied by French and German ballistic experts, so that its possibilities are known to a nicety. Any French officer can tell you, for example, that the German "S" bullet, weighing ten grammes (154 grains) must have a speed of 300 to 400 feet per second to disable a man, and 625 to 650 feet per second in order to disable a horse at a range of about a mile and a quarter. Need it be said that the pow-

der charges have been carefully calculated to give the bullet that energy?

Consider what this energy means. Drop a ten-gramme weight in a vacuum from a height of twenty-four and a half miles and it will have about the same striking force as a bullet discharged by a German infantry rifle. That amount of energy must therefore be developed in a steel barrel thirty-one inches long. Were it not for modern smokeless powder that miracle could not be performed. As it is the German "S" and the French "D" bullet can kill a man at a mile and a quarter, or penetrate more than one-half an inch of pine wood.

#### RELATIVELY FEWER MEN KILLED

When infantrymen are equipped with such weapons no unnecessary chances are taken. Heroic as it may be to die for one's country, a soldier no more relishes the idea of being shot than he does of being run over by a railway train. His commanding officer takes good care that he shall not be needlessly placed in danger. Every bush and tree, every mound and hillock is used as a shield. And when there is no natural protection, the infantryman digs one,—digs an artificial cover of some kind. His trenches are of various degrees of perfection, depending on the time he has at his disposal. In some he can stand and fire over a parapet of earth or through loopholes, and in some he kneels. Some are hollowed out at the bottom, shored up like a mine gallery, and roofed so that he may huddle up and protect himself when shrapnel is bursting over him. There is more hiding than shooting on the firing line. The covers, some of them hastily improvised during a battle, perform their function so well that it is astonishing how comparatively small is the number of men who are killed where they stand, or who are even disabled.

During the Russian-Japanese war it took 1053 rifle cartridges to put one Japanese out of the fight. Contrast that with 1870, when one bullet out of 375 found its mark, and it becomes immediately apparent that for all the studied deadliness of modern infantry fire, the soldier's lot has improved vastly and that fewer men are likely to be hit in the present conflict than the newspapers lead us to suppose. Millions of cartridges have already been fired in Europe, but the killed and wounded are numbered only by thousands.

#### TERRIFIC STRAIN ON THE SOLDIER'S NERVES.

Although the tactician has discovered ways of protecting infantry from rifle fire, it must

not be supposed that the soldier of to-day is less brave than one of Napoleon's veterans. Indeed, he is put to a severer strain; for he is under fire sometimes for more than twelve hours at a time. To crouch in a trench or a covered bomb-proof from dawn until dusk, to hear the incessant whistle of thousands of projectiles, to mark the little clouds of dust kicked up by bullets as they strike the ground near a trench or shelter, to start at the bursting of shrapnel shells, each containing 200 or 300 bullets which are scattered over many yards, is a test of human nerves which Napoleon's Old Guard was never called upon to withstand.

#### THE NEW ARTILLERY AND HOW IT IS USED

Although the armies of Europe are equipped with artillery of a power and range surpassing anything that was used even in the comparatively recent Russian-Japanese war, the great battles that are now being waged will be won by infantry. Yet the steadiest infantry would be helpless without artillery. Not until the enemy's batteries have been silenced dare the infantry advance. Hence the old Napoleonic artillery duel is still a dramatic feature of modern warfare. But how changed! How puny and utterly insignificant are the cannon that roared at Austerlitz compared even with the smallest modern field gun!

How different, too, is the method of firing! Nowadays the gunners, crouching behind steel shields, never see the object at which they are firing. A battery commander, perched on a support ten or fifteen feet above ground, and screened by foliage, scientifically finds the range and then corrects it by observing how the first shots fell. The accuracy of fire is amazing. If there is any pleasure in the game, the battery commander has it all; for he alone knows exactly what is happening when the shrapnel explodes. Also he is more likely to be killed than his men because of his elevated station.

The guns now employed on the battleground vary from the three-inch field piece with a range of three and one-half miles, firing a fifteen-pound projectile, to the German 8.4-inch field howitzer firing a projectile weighing 250 pounds. For siege work, for battering down fortifications, like those of Liège or Namur, even heavier pieces are required, such as mortars that have a bore over eleven inches in diameter and fire shells weighing 500 pounds and more. Each cannon, whether it be used in the field or behind a fixed barrier, has its special use.

Against men under cover, for example, the ordinary field gun is useless. A gun must be brought to bear which throws its projectile high into the air and drops it behind an embankment or on top of a bomb-proof. That gun is the howitzer.

#### MODERN AMMUNITION

Guns are a general's tools, and, if the ammunition that accompanies them be similarly regarded, he has about as many varieties, each serving a special purpose, as a dentist has instruments. At least a dozen different sizes and kinds of ammunition must be kept on hand and supplied when needed, and it is used so freely that a single gun may occasionally fire 400 rounds in a day, as in the Russian war. When it is considered that at Mukden 3000 guns were in position, and that in the present international conflict several armies are in action larger than the forces under the Russian and Japanese command in Manchuria, the daily consumption of ammunition by artillery alone must amount to as much as 1,200,000 rounds.

To provide the immense amount of ammunition which will be used up in the present war will be no easy task. Still, there is no likelihood that the armies now in the field will run short of cartridges and shells. Both small and large arms ammunition is made in government factories, on a scale commensurate with all the demands that can be made upon them. In Napoleon's time it was otherwise; for after the great victories of Nelson and the blockading of the French ports it was so difficult to obtain saltpetre that Napoleon even sought to stimulate chemical inquiry into new methods of producing gunpowder by offering tempting prizes.

Gunpowder plays but a small part in the present war. The explosives used in guns, large and small, are smokeless powders of various kinds. They are picric acid compounds, nitro-cellulose preparations made from gun cotton, and forms of nitro-glycerine in general. Every country has contributed something to the development of these smokeless powders, but Germany most of all. The nature of the raw materials is such that they are easily obtained in abundance and readily worked up by the government factories. It is safe to say that long before the present war started, each of the great European powers had on hand ample stores of explosives for a war that would last for a few months.

Modern smokeless powder differs from the gunpowder of old chiefly in the manner

in which it is consumed in the gun. Common gunpowder is a violent explosive which generates its gases with great suddenness. It exerts a very great and disproportionate stress upon the breech of a gun, but at the muzzle the pressure drops suddenly. The average propulsive force from breech to muzzle is therefore low, yet it is the average pressure upon which reliance must be placed. In order that this old form of powder might perform its function more efficiently, it was finally made in prismatic grains, through each of which a hole was bored, so that as the consuming flame reduced the outer surface the burning area of the whole was increased. A single "grain" may weigh as much as ninety pounds. A better average pressure was secured in the gun by means of prismatic powder, but not good enough for the ordnance engineer.

The modern cellulose powders exert their pressure much more uniformly than is possible even with the best prismatic powder. They enable the ordnance engineer to exert a very nearly uniform pressure upon the projectile from the breech of the gun to the muzzle; indeed the maximum pressure is exerted somewhat beyond the breech. These cellulose powders can be burned with safety in the open air; for in order to explode they must be confined. Hence, in loose form they are safer than the black gunpowder of old. Such a smokeless powder can be dampened, and, if it does not mildew, it is as good as ever if properly dried. It cannot be detonated by a blow. Indeed, the stick forms of smokeless powder can be burned in the hand like a match.

The discovery of smokeless powder rendered it necessary to modify ordnance. Nitro-cellulose would have been used sooner than it was had there been adequate guns. Even as it is the ordnance engineer has not quite succeeded in coping with the high erosive effect of modern explosives. Smokeless powder has an explosive temperature of about 4500 degrees Fahrenheit,—nearly twice the melting point of the steel from which the guns are made. It seems impossible to prevent some of the hot gases from escaping past, and moving ahead of the shell. They act like the flames of a powerful blowpipe and sear away the rifling surfaces so rapidly that many guns cannot be fired more than one hundred times.

#### LIGHT-WEIGHT FIELD-PIECES

An immense amount of ingenuity has been expended in reducing the weight of field

pieces so that they may be easily brought into position. A three-inch field piece and its ammunition must be easily hauled by six horses, and its weight is therefore limited to about two tons, nearly equally divided between the piece itself and its ammunition. The French three-inch field piece is more powerful than the German, but the German is more easily handled because it weighs about five hundred pounds less with its carriage. Indeed, the whole art of gun designing is the art of compromising between the demand for greater mobility and the demand for greater striking energy and range.

#### GUN TURRETS ON FORTIFICATIONS

For fixed fortifications there are no such limitations in weight. Nor are any limitations imposed so far as the character of the protection afforded is concerned. In 1886 experiments were conducted at Malmaison which proved that a thickness of at least forty feet of earth is required to protect the big guns of a fortress. While parapets of forty-five or fifty feet in thickness may be found, concrete is more freely used in order to obtain great strength with less thickness. Moreover, the guns themselves are placed in turrets very much like those of a battleship, but much heavier.

A gun turret consists essentially of a dome of armor covering a cylinder of steel, the whole revolving in a well lined with concrete, which contains the necessary machinery and magazines. The concrete walls which line the shaft vary in thickness from ten to sixteen feet, depending upon the type of turret. Heaped up against the external masses of concrete on the side from which the attack is expected to come is a mass of broken stone and an earthwork at least thirty feet thick.

The first turrets of this type carried two six-inch guns. Only the dome of cast iron (sixteen inches thick) appeared above the massive concrete wall of the well. The whole turret, therefore, offered a target only three and one-half feet high and about eighteen feet wide. Yet even this was too much, so accurate is modern gun-fire. A disappearing turret was evolved, constructed for one or two six-inch guns, two three-inch rapid-fire guns, or two machine guns. After the charge is fired the whole turret is lowered so that the guns may be reloaded. It is said that the time which elapses between the word of command and the complete disappearance of the turret is only five seconds and that two shots can be fired every ninety



seconds. Turrets carrying a single three-inch gun are operated in a similar manner. Machine-gun turrets are the lightest of all, because they must be moved directly by the gunners themselves and so easily that they can be made to sweep the whole crest of the glaciis during the volley.

A revolving turret containing heavy guns must be cracked open like a nut. To perform that task both the Germans and the French have developed the 11-inch siege howitzer. When the Germans brought up their heavy siege guns before Liège and Namur the turrets were burst open with a very few shots. The reason is not far to seek. Most of the turrets to be found in European fortresses are rather old; but the siege guns are very new.

#### THROWING A TON OF METAL A MILE TO DISABLE ONE SOLDIER

Powerful as modern batteries are, whether they are composed of three-inch field pieces on the battleground or six-inch guns in turrets, the actual number of men killed is fewer than most of us suspect. At St. Privat in 1870 the French fired eighty shots, weighing in all 660 pounds, to kill or maim a single German. Since that was forty-four years ago, it might be supposed that by 1904 the slaughter would be terrific. Yet during the Manchurian campaign the Russian artillery in pitched battles fired about 150 shots in order to disable a single Japanese. The individual projectile fired by a field-piece had increased in weight since 1870, so that about a ton of metal was hurled a mile or two in order to disable a single Japanese.

Shrapnel, a shell which, when it explodes, shoots 200 or 300 balls in all directions, is the favorite ammunition of the field artillery. Of necessity it is more fatal than infantry fire; nevertheless, more men are killed by rifle fire than by shrapnel. In the Franco-Prussian War, out of one hundred casualties, ninety were due to infantry fire, eight to artillery fire, and two to other causes. In Manchuria over 85.5 per cent. of the killed and wounded Japanese were put out of action by infantry fire. The ratio in the present war will approximate that of the Manchurian campaign. In other words, modern battles will be won by infantry.

#### COMMUNICATION

So many batteries are in action, so many men are distributed along the fighting front that it is a physical impossibility for a general to watch with his own eyes the course

of events in which more than 500,000 men are participating. He no longer gallops up and down a retreating line, brandishing a sword and encouraging disheartened and beaten troops to a new attack, as painters were once fond of picturing him. He is far removed from the battleground. Yet he knows from hour to hour, from minute to minute, what success this skirmishing line or that cavalry raid has had, and what guns are stationed on each distant hill and how they are succeeding in battering down a fortification miles away. His army may cover northern France and part of Belgium, but he knows more about the movements of each regiment at any moment than Napoleon did of his whole army at the Battle of Leipsic.

As might be supposed, the telegraph and the telephone have magically extended the senses of a general to a hundred different points. This extension of himself is effected with wonderful rapidity by men who have nothing else to do but install means of communication. In the German army a mile and a quarter of telegraph line can be set up by one officer and thirty men in less than an hour. Since dozens of such telegraph companies are at work at once, the headquarters of several army corps are placed in telegraphic or telephonic communication with each other in a few hours. Telephone communication is established even faster than field telegraphs; for a good speaking connection is obtained at the rate of a mile in half an hour. In the Austrian army each advance company of infantry is in telephonic communication with headquarters. Wireless telegraphy also is used in European armies, but only for communication between high commanding officers. The range of the instruments is about 200 miles.

#### AEROPLANES AND ZEPPELINS AS SCOUTS

But the most valuable aid of all is the aeroplane or the airship. Our newspapers have expressed disappointment in the actual performances of aircraft. Romantically inclined writers had drawn such vivid pictures of fierce battles in the air that the less picturesque but much more important work of reconnoitering, for which aircraft of all types are primarily intended, has received scant attention. Like the torpedo-boat, an aeroplane fights only when it must. To be sure, there has been some fighting in the air, but only when it became necessary for one aeroplane to prevent another from seeing too much. There has been bomb-dropping, too,

most of it just as disappointing as the more conservative officers of Europe had prophesied it would be. Even the shrapnel bombs twice dropped by a Zeppelin on densely populated Antwerp failed to slaughter the sleeping populace in the large numbers that mean complete newspaper success. In the first attempt eight large bombs killed only twelve people. In the second attempt no one was killed. The "Black Hand" record of New York is probably much better than that. Although the number killed in Antwerp was mercifully small, the moral effect was overwhelming. Whenever a Zeppelin appeared on the horizon people took to their cellars.

Thanks to the aeroplane and the airship, the commanding generals of Europe know exactly the strength and position of the enemy against whom they send their infantry or pit their artillery, which means that feeble forces will no longer be ignorantly ordered to attack points that they could never hope to take. In three and one-half hours an airman can cover a circular area eighty miles in radius. He can note each opposing regiment of infantry, each squadron of cavalry, each battery of field artillery. How is it possible, then, to begin a flanking movement without detection? How is it possible to concentrate upon a center and hope to break through? Marches screened by cavalry, feigned movements, all the precious secrecy of the old days is swept away, so long as there is daylight and no fog.

A battle has become more than ever a series of shrewd moves on a huge topographical chessboard extending over whole provinces, each move made only after the fullest information has been obtained. Physical exhaustion and inability to draw upon large masses of fresh troops seem to be the chief causes for the reverses sustained by generals in the present war. All this may be safely deduced because there are watchful eyes in the air.

#### FAST AEROPLANES FLYING IN HIGH WINDS

Of aircraft themselves so much has been written since the Wright brothers made their memorable flights that the general mechanism of the aeroplane and the airship has become almost as familiar as that of an automobile. Still, refinements have been introduced within the last two years,—refinements of immense military value,—of which little is widely known. Aeroplanes are faster and more powerful now than they ever were, not so much because they must cover much ground quickly as because they must be able

to fly in high winds. A flying machine that cannot travel more than forty-five miles an hour is an inefficient and untrustworthy piece of military machinery. In a fifty-mile gale a pilot would be unable to reconnoiter, perhaps just when a reconnaissance is most needed to ascertain what forces are gathering behind a range of hills ten miles away. But a seventy-mile-an-hour machine vaults into the air with the assurance that it can beat its way forward slowly but surely.

The fast aeroplane has rendered the ordinary dirigible unsafe for daylight warfare. Most of the French and English airships and some of the German collapsible Parseval balloons have speeds of about forty miles an hour. They are obviously at the mercy of a fast armed aeroplane, able because of its greater speed to choose its own position and pour in a destructive hail of bullets. The great, rigid Zeppelins alone can hope to contend with high-powered aeroplanes; for they have been so far improved that just before the war their average speed was increased to over sixty-three miles an hour, and their maximum speed, with the wind, to ninety-four miles an hour. Armed as they are with machine guns and capable as they are of rising to safe heights twice as rapidly as the highest powered aeroplane, they must be regarded as veritable battleships of the air.

But why are there both aeroplanes and airships? For the same reason that there are dreadnoughts and torpedo-boats. Each has its own function. Aeroplanes are useful chiefly for tactical reconnaissance, in other words, for scouting after armies have entrenched themselves and unlimbered their artillery; airships are useful chiefly for strategical reconnaissance, in other words, for scouting at a time when armies are moving toward the terrain which they intend to occupy. Although aeroplanes, guided by skilful pilots of marvelous endurance, have stayed aloft continuously for more than twenty hours, the strain is too great for ordinary human nerves. Even a continuous flight of five hours makes inordinate demands on a pilot's nervous force.

#### ADVANTAGES OF THE DIRIGIBLE

The commander of an airship is as much at his ease as the captain of an ocean liner on his bridge. He can move about in more or less comfort; he can hover over one spot for hours and study the operations below at his leisure, if he is not disturbed by a flock of two-seated aeroplanes carrying rifles; he can stay aloft for a whole day

without fatigue. More important still, he has at his disposal wireless apparatus which enables him both to send and receive messages for 300 miles without the necessity, therefore, of immediately reporting each important discovery in person.

An aeroplane pilot may receive wireless messages, but as yet no satisfactory long-range sending equipment has been devised for him; he must return to headquarters whenever it seems pressingly needful to do so. In lifting capacity, too, the airship is vastly superior to the aeroplane,—a factor of importance, because if explosives are to be dropped, as they have been at Antwerp, Paris, and other centers, the dirigible airship can carry not only more bombs but much heavier bombs than an aeroplane. What is more, the airship's ability to float stationary over a given spot (an aeroplane must be in constant motion to stay aloft at all) enables it to drop a hundred-weight of explosive with a reasonably true aim.

All these frightful advantages have been developed to the utmost in Germany's colossal Zeppelins,—slim cylinders as big as ocean steamers that slip through the air with a certain sureness which impresses anyone who has ever beheld them. They have searchlights for nocturnal scouting, armor to protect their motors, wireless outfits almost as powerful as those of a transatlantic liner, machine guns on top of their long gas envelopes to beat off attacking craft, a crew of twenty, provisions and fuel for a journey of 3000 miles, and bombs formidable in size and number. Compared with them other German dirigibles, as well as the non-rigids of France, Germany, and Russia, seem what they are,—great mechanically propelled bubbles of hydrogen gas and not real ships of the air.

In less than four hours a Zeppelin of the latest type can travel from one end to the other of the 250-mile battle front in France; in fifteen hours from Metz on the eastern frontier to Königsberg in eastern Prussia; in sixteen hours from Berlin to Aberdeen.

#### AEROPLANES EQUIPPED WITH MACHINE GUNS

It is evident that some attempt must be made to prevent an air scout from reconnoitering. To accomplish that end, aeroplane must be pitted against aeroplane or an attempt made to bring down a scout from the ground by means of high-powered guns. Both methods are in use in the present war.

Most military aeroplanes carry two passen-

gers seated in tandem. One man guides and controls the machine, the other observes the terrain below and manipulates either a rifle or a machine gun. Single-seated machines are also used, but machine guns cannot be successfully fired by an aviator whose hands and feet may not leave the controls. To engage in a machine-gun or rifle duel 5000 feet above the ground requires courage of a kind that surpasses the heroism recorded in the epics of old. Indeed, there is nothing in all Homer which for sheer daring can be compared with the feat that a fighting air scout is called upon to perform.

He risks his life doubly,—doubly because he is exposed both to fire and to the danger of a vertiginous drop to the ground. If the supporting stays of his wings are clipped, if a control wire is severed, he must experience all the agony of plunging down to a frightful and inevitable death. No wonder that the two dozen aeroplanes which were used on all sides during the Balkan campaign carefully avoided one another.

If an aeroplane flies at a height greater than 4500 feet it is reasonably safe from the fire of rifles and artillery on the ground. But at that height it is extremely difficult to reconnoiter successfully. Whole batteries seem more like minute crawling insects than guns and men, and it is difficult to distinguish cavalry from horse artillery. The temptation to descend into the danger zone in order to see more clearly is strong. In the Balkans at least two aviators were shot by rifles from the ground because they ventured below the safe height of 4000 feet, and in the present war, if the newspapers are to be credited, half a dozen scouts have been killed by fire from the ground.

No less than three types of artillery have been designed by Krupp to be used against airships and aeroplanes. One of these is a nine-pounder piece, much like an ordinary gun, hauled by horses, but which can be directed almost vertically upward; a second is to be used on shipboard, and a third is a three-inch piece firing a twelve-pound shrapnel and is mounted on a motor truck. These guns can reach a height of about 20,000 feet, which therefore marks the lower limit of safety for an airship or an aeroplane.

#### AVIATION SUCCESSFUL IN WAR

How serviceable aircraft have really been in the present war appears from Sir John French's pointed references to them in his unadorned soldierly reports. "One of the features of the campaign on our side," he

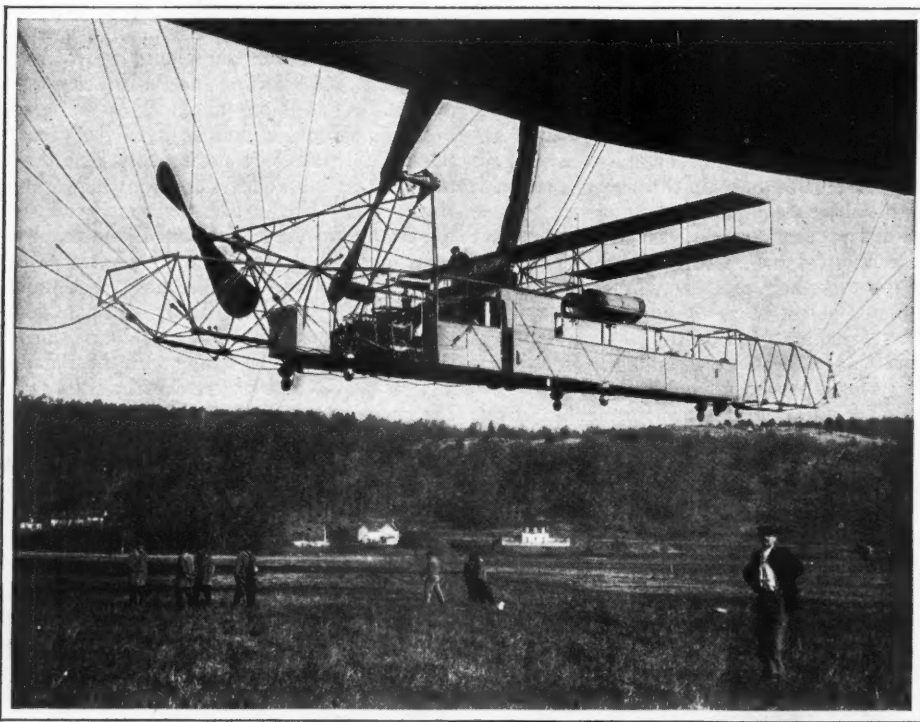
writes, "has been the success of the Flying Corps. In regard to the collection of information, it is impossible either to award too much praise to our aviators for the way they have carried out their duties, or to overestimate the value of the intelligence collected." During a period of twenty days, Sir John French assures us, a daily average of more than nine reconnaissance flights of over 100 miles each has been maintained.

How important the air scout must be in the present war follows from the efforts made to prevent him at all costs from carrying out his purpose of gaining information. As soon as a German air scout wings his way toward the allies, an English aviator whirrs up to fight him off. Thus no less than five German pilots were shot by Englishmen

alone. "As a consequence," Sir John French states, "the British Flying Corps has succeeded in establishing an individual supremacy which is as serviceable to us as it is damaging to the enemy."

Here we have a distinct attempt to maintain the command of the air, not for the purpose of bomb-dropping or similar offensive practises, but in pursuance of the principle that the main object of military aviators is the collection of information. A modern general deprived of his last air scout is reduced to a state of military blindness.

The war is only two months old and it is rash to prophesy what lesson it will teach. But already it seems certain that the exploits performed by the airman will be far more instructive than the part played by big guns.



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CAR OF THE DIRIGIBLE "RUSSIA," ONE OF THE FLEET OF RUSSIAN AIRCRAFT ENGAGED IN SPYING ON THE AUSTRIANS

(The captain's bridge is in front, above the engine-room, which is forward on the lower deck)





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FRENCH MOTOR TRACTOR DRAWING A HEAVY GUN WITH ITS CAISSON AND CARRYING CREW

## WARFARE BY AUTOMOBILE

BY JOHN R. EUSTIS

**T**HE end of the first month of the present European war saw approximately a quarter of a million motor vehicles of all types in the service of the war departments of the belligerent nations. This tremendous total resulted from the fact that every continental government involved, immediately on the outbreak of war, commandeered practically all the motor vehicles within its boundaries. England, on her part, easily acquired the fifty thousand or so that she needed.

### AN ATTACKING ARMY IN AUTOMOBILES

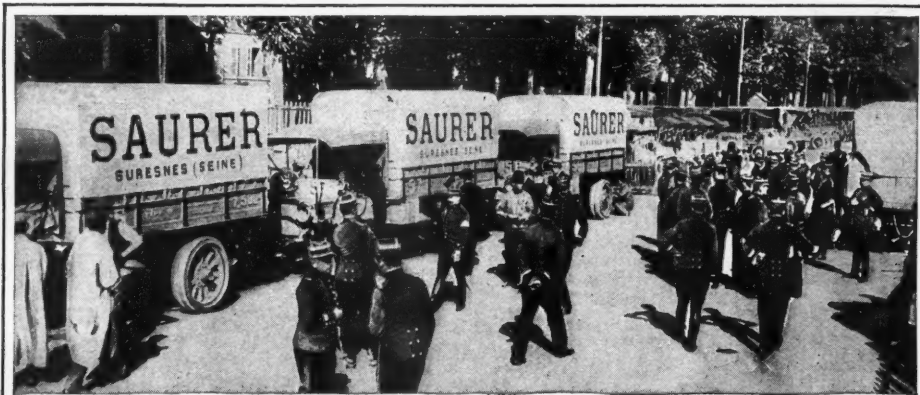
An extensive and effective use has been made of the motor vehicle by all the belligerents ever since the war began. The first step in the wonderful advance which carried the German armies through Belgium and on to the very gates of Paris involved an extensive use of automobiles. On the very heels of the declaration of war against France, they dashed in large numbers into Belgium and Luxemburg carrying thousands of picked soldiers. Many small towns fell an easy prey before their impetuous advance.

The Germans are making extensive use of rapid-fire guns mounted on armored motor cars. They have, according to one correspondent, thousands of these motor guns,

which are of various categories, ranging from the quick fire of the type of a Maxim to a light field gun with very little less range than the ordinary field artillery.

It is probably owing largely to the mobility of these motor guns that the allied armies were forced to such a rapid retirement. After leaving one position they were not able to intrench in another before the German motor guns and cavalry were upon them. Thus their retirement was practically a continuous rearguard action.

The first attack on Liège was made by German troops riding in automobiles, the number of which has been estimated at close to one thousand. This was a new Balaklava charge, with the motor vehicle substituted for the horse. At the same time scores of German scouting parties using automobiles crossed into France at many points along the frontier. In this work, pleasure cars and light armored motor trucks were mostly used, and their activities furnished a rather spectacular and modern feature of the war. In the French army the horse is being used for practically no other purpose than as a cavalry mount and to a limited extent in artillery traction. It is interesting to note that in the retreating movements of the German armies



MOBILIZATION OF FRENCH MOTOR FLEET PREPARATORY TO MOVING SUPPLIES AND AMMUNITION TO THE FRONT

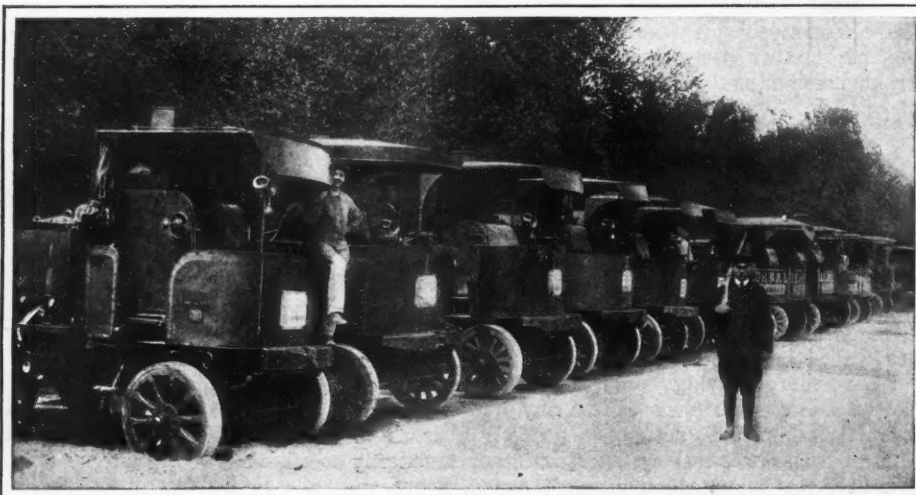
in France, in the middle of September, when guns got stuck in the mud after the heavy rains, only those drawn by motor tractors could be moved, the others being abandoned.

#### TRANSPORT EQUIPMENT

The really important work which motor vehicles are performing is in the field of transporting food, ammunition, equipment, and supplies. When Napoleon stated that an army traveled on its stomach he implied the obvious fact that no large force of men could advance faster than its supply train. The substitution of motor trucks for horses in army transport service has almost doubled the speed with which armies advance in modern times. The rapidity of the German advance, the speed and facility of the French mobilization, as well as the short space of time which

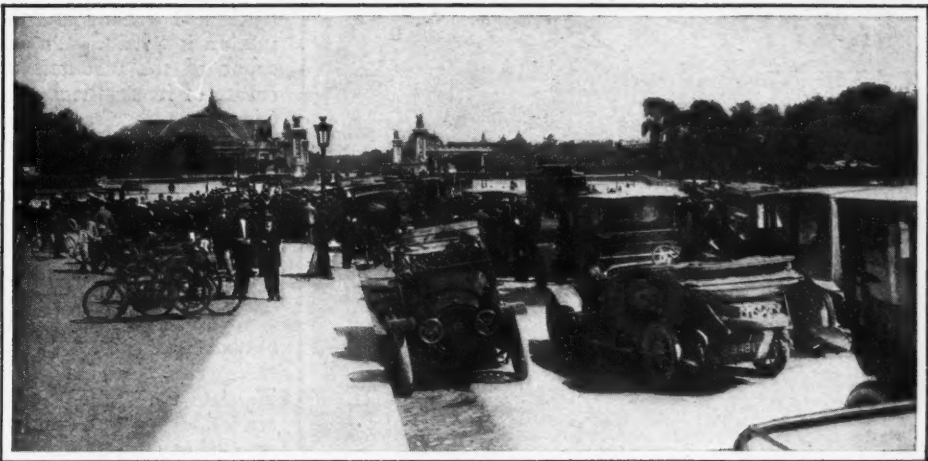
it took England to place a thoroughly equipped army on the fighting line in France, all bear out this assertion.

In the recent Balkan war this fact was also established. The Bulgarian army was provided with a small motor transport equipment, but even this, despite the handicap of inadequate roads, made possible the rapidity of the Bulgarian advance in the direction of Constantinople. England was the first nation to use motor vehicles in actual warfare. She employed a small number in the Boer war, but these were mostly steam tractors which hauled several trailers. In her recent war with Turkey Italy employed about 200 light motor trucks in Tripoli, while Greece used about half as many in the war which she and Serbia waged against Bulgaria as the aftermath of the first Balkan war.



Photograph by Bain News Service.

FLEET OF STEAM TRUCKS WITH THE ENGLISH TRANSPORT SERVICE IN FRANCE



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AUTOMOBILES REQUISITIONED BY THE GOVERNMENT, IN THE ESPLANADES DES INVALIDES, PARIS

#### MOTOR MILITIA SUBSIDY SYSTEM

This great need of motor vehicles for possible war purposes was, of course, foreseen by the governments of the various nations. For several years the leading European governments have appreciated the desirability of having large numbers of motor vehicles available for use in case of war. How to secure them was a big problem. Outright ownership of the many thousands which would be required was out of the question, because of the high initial cost and the fact that they would become obsolete in a few years. In the case of many of the special types, of which only limited numbers would be needed, government ownership was feasible, and such vehicles were therefore acquired immediately.

To provide the large fleets of pleasure cars and motor trucks necessary, two plans were adopted. For owners of private cars a motor militia was arranged, while for the motor trucks a subsidy plan was adopted. Under this plan the governments approved of certain models of different manufacturers, and buyers of these models were granted a yearly bonus, extending over a period of from three to five years. In return the owners of the subsidized trucks agreed to turn them over to the government on demand, and to keep them at all times in good condition. Under the latter provision the trucks are subject to inspection by army officers at regular intervals.

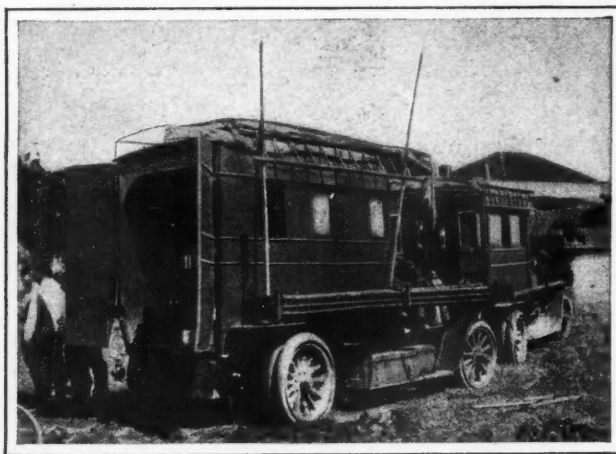
While the subsidy systems for motor



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#### THE GENESIS OF ARMY MOTOR TRANSPORT

(Steam tractor with trailer leading an English supply train over the South African veldt during the Boer War. Some of these early types are being used in the present war)



PORTABLE WIRELESS STATION ON TRUCK CHASSIS, THE MOTOR OF WHICH ALSO DRIVES A DYNAMO PROVIDING NECESSARY CURRENT FOR SENDING WIRELESS MESSAGES

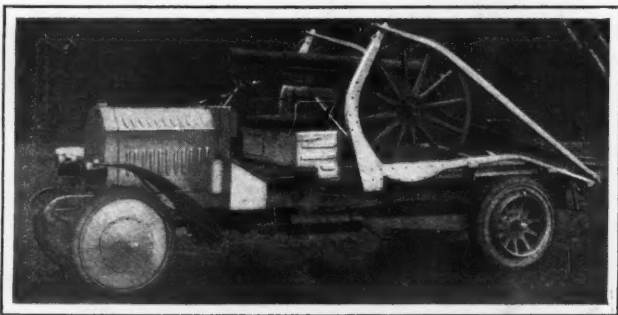
trucks are much the same in the different European countries, they differ widely in the size and kind of vehicles the use of which they are intended to encourage. These varying preferences are governed by the nature of the country and the roads over which they are most likely to be used in case of war, and by the plan of army organization and utilization of the different nations. The English subsidy is applicable only to motor trucks of one and a half and three tons load capacity, and capable of a maximum speed of sixteen miles an hour. The subsidies are \$528 and \$576, respectively, and are paid in three yearly instalments. England is the only nation to require a strict adherence to a standard form of design and construction. France subsidizes motor trucks and tractors, with and without trailers, which have a load capacity of two or more tons and a speed in excess of nine miles an hour. The subsidy for a three-ton truck is \$1440, paid in four years.

The German Government favors motor trains and its subsidy is applicable only to motor trucks and tractors designed to haul trailers. Load capacities of four tons on trucks and tractors and two tons on trailers are required, and a speed of ten miles an hour. The subsidy is \$2160, paid in five yearly instalments. The Austrian requirements are similar except that only three tons are necessary on

trucks and tractors, and the subsidy is \$1728. On account of the mountainous nature of its frontiers Austria also required more powerful motors. Neither Russia nor Italy have subsidy systems, but each has acquired by purchase a number of motor trucks, the former having many of American manufacture. Both countries favor trucks of about one and a half and three tons load capacity. To date the United States army has adopted but one type, of one and a half tons load capacity. Complete specifications have been prepared, which call for a

vehicle driven and steered through all four road wheels,—a design similar to most of the European tractors. Only one of the 360 American motor-vehicle manufacturers is engaged in building trucks to these specifications.

The purpose of the subsidy plan encouraged the use of motor trucks in large numbers for ordinary commercial transport, and made certain that these trucks would be adapted for military purposes and would be kept in good condition. Some difficulties have been met in having the subsidy plan widely accepted by manufacturers and owners. The principal one is that trucks adapted for military service are not adapted to the average commercial requirements. France and Germany, the first to arrange for subsidy systems, adopted the motor truck for military purposes somewhat in advance of their general use for business in their re-



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#### GERMAN TRUCK CARRYING FIELD GUN

(The ramps, up which the gun has been hauled on to the truck, are shown folded back so as to hold the gun securely in place)



spective countries, and were therefore able to control this situation fairly well. England, on account of the late adoption of a subsidy system, has not been so successful in having military designs substituted for those developed by years of commercial usage. This was in some measure a handicap.

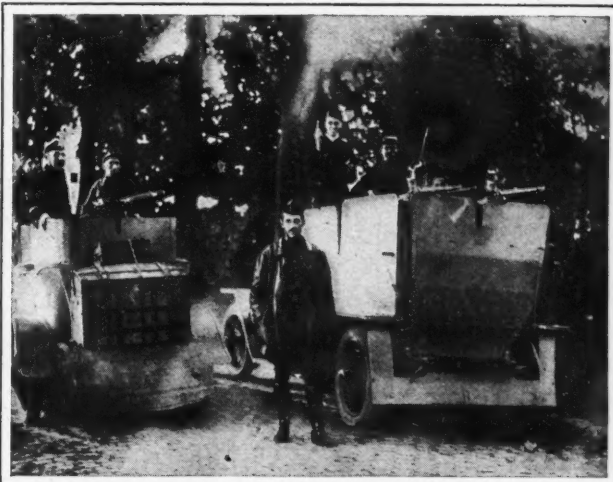
To offset this disadvantage there were in England at the outbreak of hostilities more motor vehicles of all types than in all the other belligerent nations combined, the total being about 250,000. France had approximately 90,000, Germany 70,000, Austria 25,000, and Russia 10,000. (It may be an interest-

ing comparison, by the way, in this connection, to note that there are considerably over one million motor vehicles now in use in the United States.) The continental governments have commandeered all motor vehicles within their borders, including many belonging to American tourists, and placed them at the service of their respective armies. The British Government is taking all that it needs, but at the end of the first month of the war there were not more than 3500 motor trucks with the English field armies in France, and perhaps twice this number of pleasure cars and motorcycles. Thousands of others, however, are being used in Eng-

land or being held in readiness. The perfection of the German system of motor mobilization may be judged from the report to the effect that every automobile in the empire was numbered and ready for service, and placed at the disposal of the country by its owner, well provided with gasoline and lubricants and extra tires. These were all exactly at the point specified in the call, and without any delay or confusion.

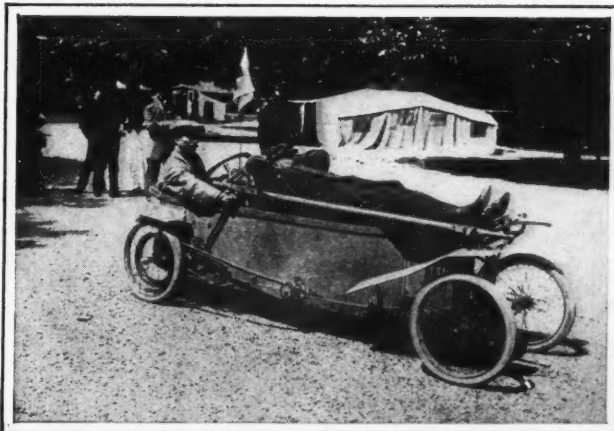
The motor transport equipment of the British army is made up of a large variety of makes and models, all designed for commercial usage and therefore not well adapted to army service. The fleets of subsidized

trucks in the service of the French and German armies, on the other hand, are at least standard in the important matters of power, speed, size, road clearance, bodies, tire sizes, magnetos, and carbureters, and in being fitted with sprags, towing hooks, and radiator guards. Standardization is the desideratum in military motor transport equipment and the end toward which the European governments have striven. Germany has carried this to a point where the extensive interchanging of bodies is possible. Thus, if a general's limousine



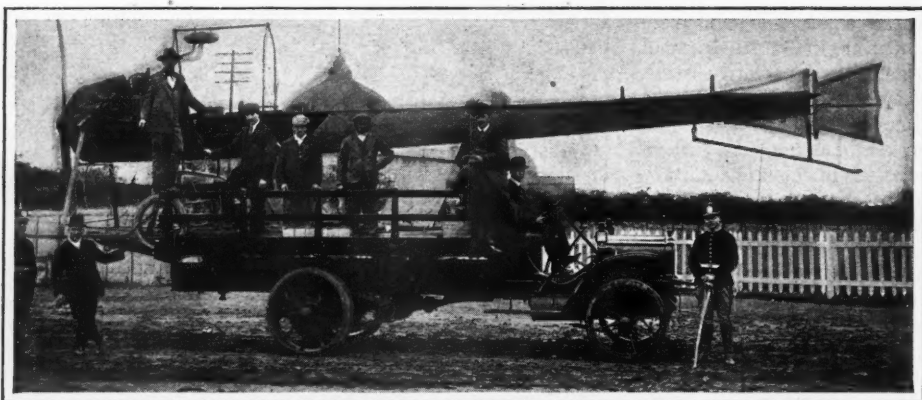
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THE BELGIAN ARMORED MOTOR CARS—MODERN WAR CHARIOTS THAT HAVE PERFORMED EFFECTIVE SERVICE



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LATEST TYPE OF FRENCH CYCLE CAR AMBULANCE  
(Every type of motor vehicle is being utilized in the war)



A HANRIOT MONOPLANE BEING TRANSPORTED BY MOTOR IN FRANCE

breaks down, the body of an ambulance, or of an ammunition wagon, or a scouting touring-car can be removed and the limousine body substituted on the chassis, the change requiring but a few moments.

Germany has also taken the lead in developing motor trains, which transport from seven to fifteen tons at a time, these large loads being necessary to feed and supply the great masses of troops which the German military scheme brings together.

#### USE OF THE MOTOR OMNIBUS

The motor omnibus is the type of motor truck most largely in use in Europe. At the outbreak of the war there were about 3800 in London, 1500 in Paris, and 1000 in Berlin. The first British force to be sent to France, numbering 100,000 men, took 700 of the London motor omnibuses with it, in addition to some 2000 motor trucks of other types. Several hundred more have been sent over since.

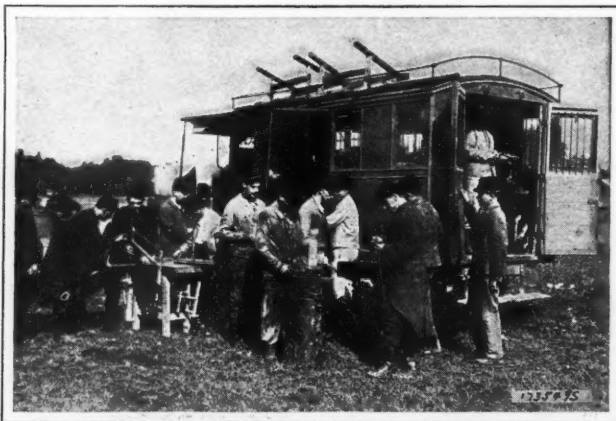
Two days after mobilization was declared in France, 500 of the Paris motor omnibuses were started for the front, each carrying forty soldiers, and the remaining thousand followed in the next few days. When the mobilization was completed the seats in most of these 'buses were removed and they were placed in the regular transport service.

The European armies are putting motor vehicles to a wide variety of uses. They

carry food supplies, ammunition, and other goods. Light trucks are attached to the aeroplane corps, to carry the aviators and their assistants, fuel, tools, and spare parts and tow two-wheel trailers, each of which carries an aeroplane. Other trucks are fitted with armor and mount high-powered guns designed for attacking aeroplanes and dirigibles in flight, and are capable of great speed.

#### TYPES OF TRUCKS AND AMBULANCES

The French, German, and Austrian armies have a large number of heavily armored motor trucks, with miniature turrets carrying one or more quick-firing guns for use against infantry and cavalry. All have tractors, which are used instead of horses for hauling artillery. The German army has one type of motor truck which actually carries a piece of light artillery. This truck has hinged ramps which fold over the wheels of the gun to



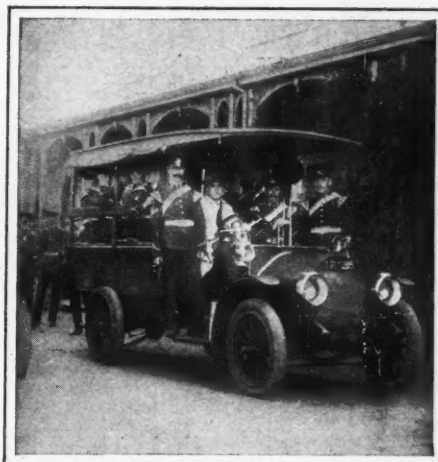
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#### REPAIRING FRENCH AEROPLANES ON THE FIELD

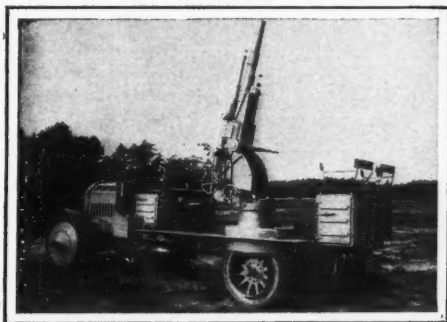
(Portable repair shop on motor truck chassis, with its staff of mechanics hard at work)

hold it in place while traveling, and folding back until they touch the ground when the gun is to be rolled off and placed into position. The various armies' hospital corps are making extensive use of motor ambulances, while many of the regular transport motor trucks have bodies which permit the carrying of stretchers in tiers. Several of the motor field hospitals of the French army have bodies with glass roofs and completely equipped as operating-rooms. Folding tents are arranged against either side, which, when set up, house a dozen or more beds. The sanitary corps of each army is provided with special motor vehicles adapted to their work. The French army is provided with portable distilling plants, mounted on motor-truck chasses, to supply pure drinking water for their troops.

Field kitchens for the armies are either



MOTOR TRUCK CARRYALLS WERE EXTENSIVELY USED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN MOVING TROOPS



Photograph by Paul Thomson.

A MOTOR CAR CARRYING A SPECIALLY BUILT AEROPLANE GUN

mounted on motor-truck chasses or on trailers. Many of the wireless stations for field service are also carried on motor trucks, the motors of which can be coupled to dynamos to furnish the necessary electrical current. There are also portable\* repair shops mounted on motor trucks, the motor of which furnishes the power for operating small lathes, drills, dynamos for welding, etc. The sides of these vehicles usually open out, thereby tripling the available floor space. Arrangement is also made for extending the top over both of the lowered sides and for dropping curtains so that the entire shop may be enclosed. In the

English army these repair shops are mounted on trailers instead of on a truck chassis, and a small gasoline motor is provided to drive the machinery. These portable shops are used for repairing motor vehicles, aeroplanes, and artillery, and even for shoeing horses. Their equipment also includes a smith's forge, anvil, grindstone, band-saw, carpenter's tools, etc. Another type of motor is used as a portable power plant, and still another for carrying a large searchlight.

The employment of motor vehicles in European armies has been carried to such an advanced stage that several types have been developed which are intended solely as auxiliaries to the ones already mentioned. Such is the fuel wagon which usually mounts a large tank divided into three compartments,



PREPARING A MEAL IN THE FIELD  
(A motor kitchen of the English Army encamped at Amiens)

containing, respectively, gasolene, lubricating oil, and water.

To keep the large fleets of motor vehicles in constant repair, portable shops, corps of expert mechanics, and a large assortment of spare parts and extra tires are carried in special trucks for their purpose. Perhaps the highest stage in this special development has been reached in a large motor truck designed to transport disabled motor vehicles. This type has ramps, up which the disabled vehicle may be hauled by a winch driven by the motor, and also a crane which can be used to lift vehicles aboard.

Motor-cycles are also extensively used in all the European armies. They have almost entirely displaced horses for scouting, dispatch bearing, and similar work. They are used by officers to facilitate the control of bodies of troops and supply trains, and by the corps of expert mechanics whose duty it is to keep the various motor vehicles in running order.

#### FAVORABLE CONDITIONS IN THE EUROPEAN WAR

The few reports which have already come through concerning the work of the motor-transport equipment of the various armies indicate that it has been highly successful. This is due in no small measure to the very favorable conditions prevailing throughout the entire field of action. France, Belgium, and Germany have the finest system of highways in the world. Innumerable roads, well laid out, carefully graded, and having hard stone surfaces, abound everywhere in these countries. Of equal importance is the fact that they are always kept in excellent repair. Fine weather also prevails at this season of the year and the roads are dry and hard, so that they offer a maximum of resistance to the wear and tear of the heavy motor-vehicle traffic to which they are being subjected.

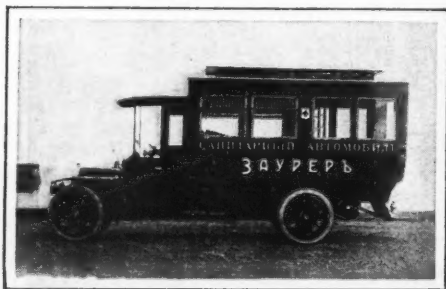
The factor of fuel is, of course, of great importance, where motor vehicles are so

widely used, and an adequate supply of gasoline is, therefore, a vital necessity. One report had it that the German armies were handicapped last month by a shortage of gasoline. This was extremely important, inasmuch as they had been obtaining ammunition and supplies by means of motor vehicles, being unable to use the railways for the whole distance when communicating with their base.

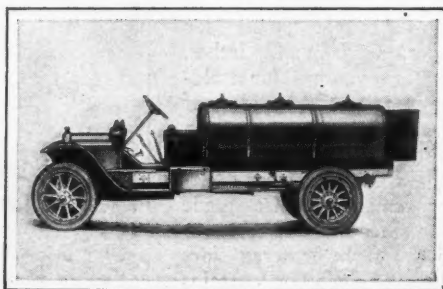
In anticipation of a shortage in gasoline supplies France has required that its subsidized motor trucks be able to run on either gasoline, benzol, or alcohol, without changing carburetors.

In France, for example, nearly all of the large motor-vehicle manufacturing plants were commandeered by the government at the outbreak of hostilities and continued in operation under army supervision. Their working forces, of course, were greatly reduced through the calling of employees to the colors, but a substantial staff of the best mechanics were retained. These were obliged to don army uniforms and to live at the plants under strict military discipline.

Most of the French automobile factories make both pleasure cars and motor trucks, but their facilities are now devoted entirely to making, repairing, equipping, and armoring motor trucks. Several also make aeroplane motors, and these are specializing in this work. Some are engaged solely in making munitions of war, and nearly all are doing special work for the military arsenals. The highly trained mechanics and wide variety of special machinery of the French automobile factories make them readily adaptable to other kinds of work. When questioned as to the effect of the war on the output of his factory, an American importer of a well-known French car who had just returned from abroad replied, "Why, we are now turning out many thousands a day,—that is, many thousands of cartridge shells."

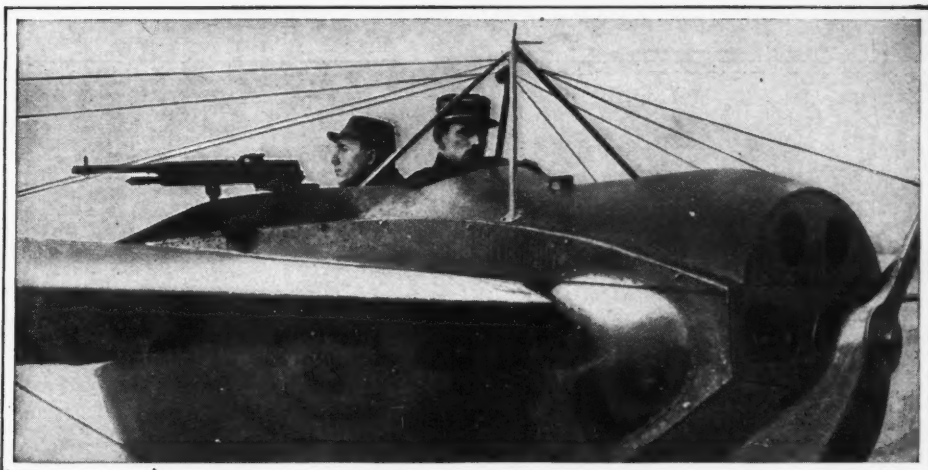


RUSSIAN ARMY MOTOR AMBULANCE  
(Many of these are now in use, some mounted on American chassis)



MOTOR FUEL SUPPLY WAGON ATTACHED TO THE  
MOTOR TRANSPORT TROOP OF THE FRENCH ARMY





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THE FLYING FRENCHMAN, ARMED AND ARMORED

# AIRCRAFT IN THE WAR

BY WILLIAM MENKEL

NO longer are aircraft an untried factor, or their value an unknown quantity in actual warfare between great powers. They have been fully tested under exacting conditions, in the most terrific fighting of the greatest conflict that has yet occurred upon this planet, and they have proved their absolute indispensability in the tactics of war. Less than six weeks have been required to prove this. This period is brief enough as wars are reckoned, yet in that time the airship and the aeroplane have received their full baptism of fire and have rolled up a record of brilliant achievements that will make one of the most fascinating and thrilling chapters of the history of this gigantic war.

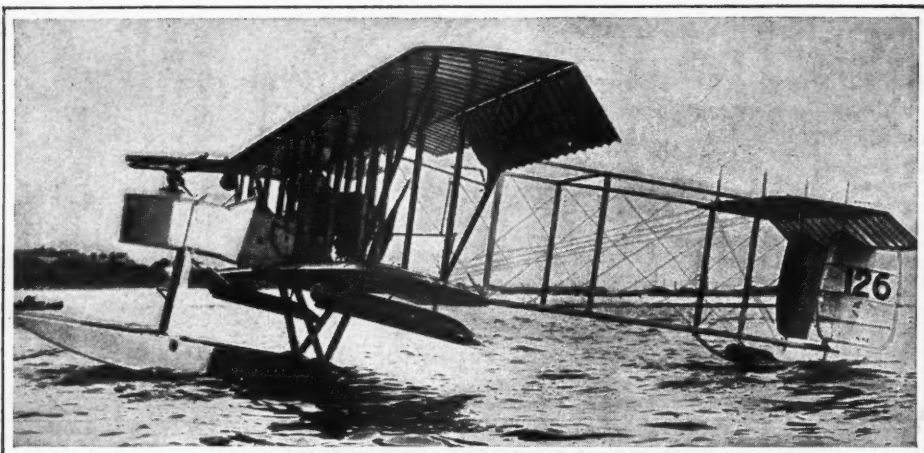
It will be a story of long and perilous scouting flights by day and by night, of daring sorties and bomb-throwing raids, of expeditions over the enemy's forces and his cities, of wild chases through the air lanes after hostile flying craft, of fierce and deadly battles in the air, of thrilling escapes with bullet-ridden planes, and, alas, of many a brave war-bird, sailing serenely aloft in the blue, struck suddenly by a gunshot and tumbling down, man and machine, to certain death a thousand feet below. But the work, though perilous in the extreme, has been well worth while. Its value has been beyond estimation. This is the common testimony of

commanding generals, of observers and correspondents, and of the private soldier. The man in the trenches, by the way, is by no means an incompetent judge, for he has had plenty of proof of the air scout's effectiveness in spying out his position and promptly directing the gun fire to his immediate vicinity.

## AERIAL WARFARE IN HISTORY

Aircraft have, of course, already been tried out in actual military service in the Italian-Turco War, in the recent Balkan wars, by the French in Morocco, and to some extent in Mexico, both by the Mexican belligerents and by the American army of occupation. But all this had been on a limited scale.

In the present Titanic conflict, involving all the principal European powers, possessing among themselves the bulk and the best of the aerial equipment of the entire world, and with a theatre of war comprising thousands of square miles of land and water, a full and complete test of aerial warcraft has at last been obtained. For we are now seeing the modern results, though by no means final fruition — of that long series of experiments in the use of the third element for war purposes that stretches back over a hundred years. As long ago as 1794 a French balloon made an ascent during the



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

ONE OF ENGLAND'S NEW NAVAL HYDRO-AEROPLANES FITTED WITH A RAPID FIRE GUN

Battle of Fleurus, while similar military ring European nations approximately as follows:

ascents were made by the French in Austria and Egypt several years later. In 1849 Venice was bombarded with Austrian balloon torpedoes, and ten years later the French, ascending in Montgolfier balloons at Milan and Castiglione, made important observations of the movements of the enemy. The valuable assistance rendered by the late Professor Lowe in balloon ascensions during our own Civil War is well known, General Stoneman's ascent and direction of artillery fire from his aerial vantage-point being the first instance of this important use of aircraft. On various other occasions since then balloons have been used in warfare for observation and the direction of artillery fire, notably during the Spanish-American War, the South African War in 1900, and the Russo-Japanese War in 1904.

#### COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF THE VARIOUS NATIONS IN AIRCRAFT

How do the different nations compare as regards their aerial equipment? This is a matter about which it is impossible to give accurate and definite figures. Of late years the growth and activities of each country's aerial forces have been hidden behind a thick veil of secrecy. Official figures are withheld from publication. Visits to aeronautical stations are discouraged, photographers barred, and the aerial trespasser summarily punished. So that figures for the various countries differ widely in each tabulation. Mr. Henry Woodhouse, editor of *Flying*, estimates the comparative strength in aircraft of the war-

	Dirigibles	Aeroplanes
France .....	31	1200
Great Britain ....	15	500
Russia .....	16	800
Belgium .....	2	40
Servia .....	0	40
Germany .....	35	600
Austria .....	10	350

But whatever the accurate figures may have been at the opening of the war, they quickly became obsolete, for the aircraft factories of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia immediately began working under greatly increased pressure, turning out aeroplanes with great rapidity, the entire output of machines being taken over by their respective governments. The hard usage which the machines are receiving in the war service, however, keeps the total number of aeroplanes from rising to any great extent. It is said that Zeppelins are being turned out at the rate of six a month.

It will be seen that Germany leads in large airships, among which are perhaps more than a dozen dirigibles of the Zeppelin type, while her aeroplanes and pilots have made wonderful advances in efficiency. France is weaker than her neighbor in dirigibles, but has a large supply of aeroplanes and a host of talented pilots. England, thanks to the interest and urging of Winston Churchill and the public in general, has greatly strengthened her aerial arm, both for land and water service, and while poor in airships, is well equipped with aeroplanes and seaplanes. The bulk of the increase in the

serial equipment of the different countries has come in the last few years, as a result not only of government appropriation, but popular subscriptions.

The expenditures of the various governments for aeronautical purposes during the past ten years are in approximate round figures as follows:

Germany .....	\$100,000,000
France .....	60,000,000
Russia .....	30,000,000
Great Britain.....	15,000,000
Austria .....	10,000,000
Belgium .....	1,000,000
Servia .....	500,000

Official appropriations for aerial equipment have in most cases come slowly, some of the governments having had to be goaded or scared into giving money for this purpose. Germany has been most generous and progressive in aerial experiments, quickening France into action, while the menace of a fleet of Zeppelins appearing suddenly over John Bull's peaceful island, and hurling destruction upon the astonished Britons has urged England to loosen her purse-strings to increase her flock of war birds.

The expenditure of large sums, though perhaps in some cases grudgingly appropriated, has been amply justified, in view of the colossal conflict in which the great powers now find themselves involved. For it is apparent that the particular belligerent in this supreme contest who should lack an adequate equipment of air craft would be irreparably handicapped.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

ANOTHER TYPE OF FRENCH MILITARY AEROPLANE. (IN THIS MACHINE THE GUN IS SO ARRANGED THAT THE GUNNER MAY STAND UP AND HAVE GREATER FREEDOM IN FIRING)

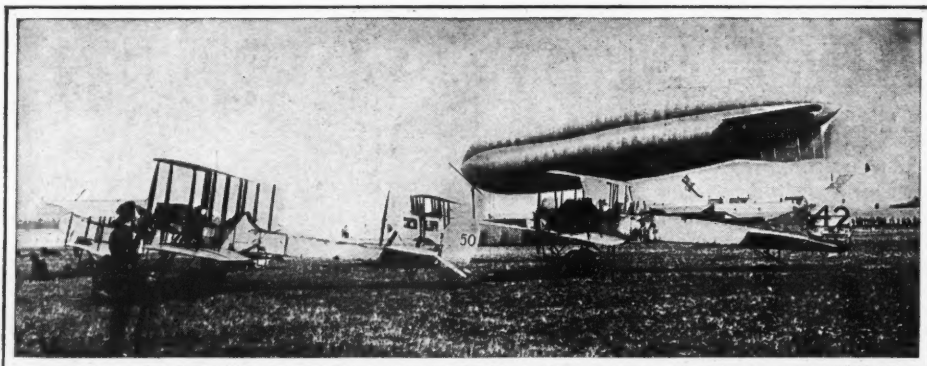
#### THE MACHINES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

A dozen or so of the German dirigibles are of the Zeppelin type, rigid in construction, metal covered, armed with machine guns, and equipped with wireless apparatus and searchlights. They range from 485 to



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

FRENCH SOLDIERS IN THE FIELD FIRING AT A HOSTILE AIR-SCOUT



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THE CAMP OF THE ROYAL FLYING CORPS OF ENGLAND AT OSTEND

550 feet in length, with a horse-power varying from 450 to 1080. They are capable of a speed of from 40 to over 60 miles an hour, and can stay up for 35 to 40 hours. The Zeppelins can carry a considerable crew and a large quantity of explosives. These great craft are the battleships of the air and compose a sky squadron unequaled by any other nation. Terrible results have been looked for when once these powerful monsters should let loose their fury upon an enemy. Cities would be razed, fortresses destroyed, fleets sunk, and whole regiments annihilated. That no such dire consequences have as yet materialized may be due to the vulnerability of the great airships themselves and the perfection of special guns to be used against an enemy in the air. But the war is not yet over. There is still time for great damage to be done by these immense dirigibles.

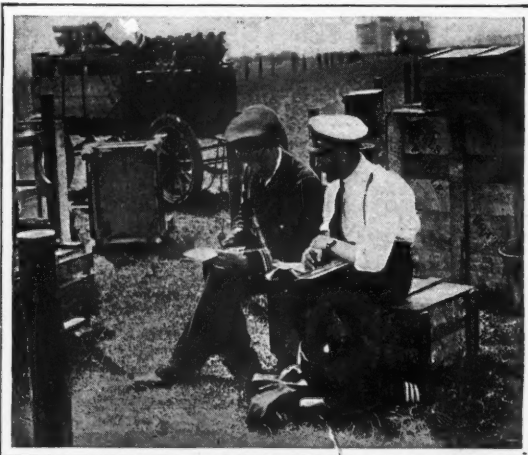
In the air fleets of the other belligerent nations there are few fighting monsters of this kind, their dirigible balloons being mostly of the non-rigid or semi-rigid kind. These are much smaller than the Zeppelins, are unarmed, and are used for observation purposes and for the laying of mines. Germany's ships of this class are principally of the

Parseval type. There is little difference in the shape and equipment of the dirigibles of the non-rigid and semi-rigid class, and their functions and capabilities are similar.

The majority of the aeroplanes of the various nations are not fighting craft, but they each have some aeroplanes fitted with armor and mounting rapid-fire guns, as well as carrying a quantity of explosives. The air pilots, or their "fighting passengers," are, of course, armed with pistols or rifles, to be ready for offensive or defensive attack. How the successful use of aircraft has revolutionized the strategy of modern warfare is treated in an interesting article by Mr. Kaempffert, in this issue of the REVIEW.

The Paris correspondent of the London *Times* wrote on September 1: "Throughout the fighting of the last few days swarms of aeroplanes have circled in the sky." The

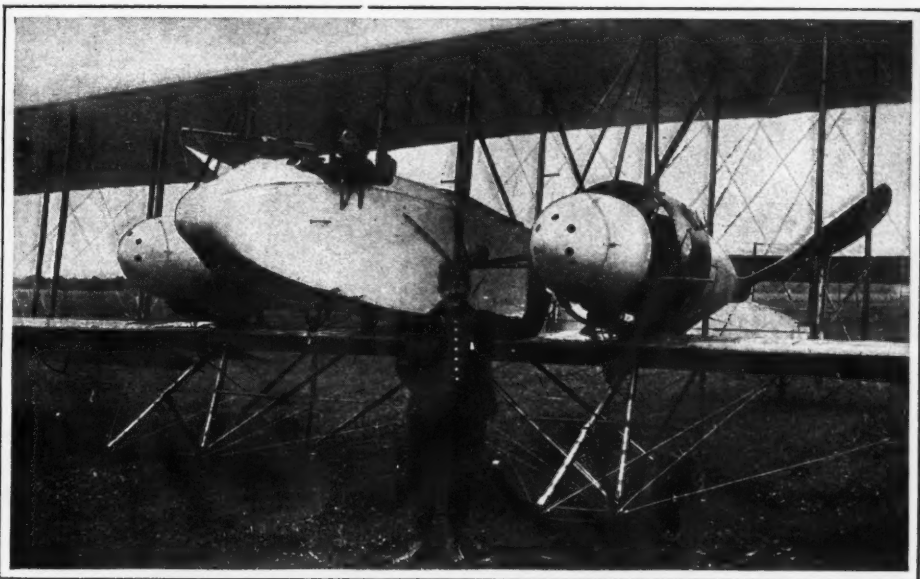
correspondent of the London *Telegraph*, who witnessed the entry of the Germans into Brussels, writes: "An aeroplane kept its station ahead of this advancing horde, and it signaled both day and night by dropping various colored stars." Every battery of artillery in the French and the German armies, we are informed, is accompanied by



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THE BRITISH NAVAL AVIATORS ESTABLISHING THEIR CAMP ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF OSTEND, BELGIUM



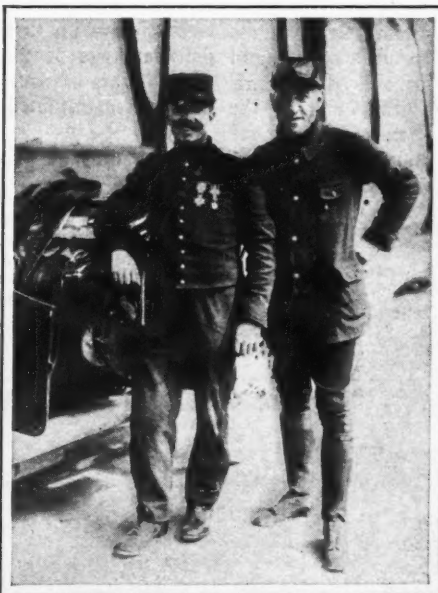


Courtesy of Flying

ONE OF THE POWERFUL NEW FRENCH MILITARY BIPLANES SHOWING THE METAL ARMOR ENCASING THE VITAL PARTS OF THE MACHINE

an aeroplane. The rapid advance of the German armies into France, and of the Russian armies into Germany and Austria, has been greatly helped by their air scouts, which have always hovered over the advance guard and pointed the way.

In the attack on Louvain four or five German aeroplanes flew as low as two hundred meters above the Belgian positions and threw among the Belgian troops combustible objects which, on striking the ground, burst into flame and guided the artillery fire of the Germans. The aeroplanes then proceeded further to coöperate by turning their searchlights on the Belgian troops. At Liège the great German siege guns had been placed five miles to the rear of the



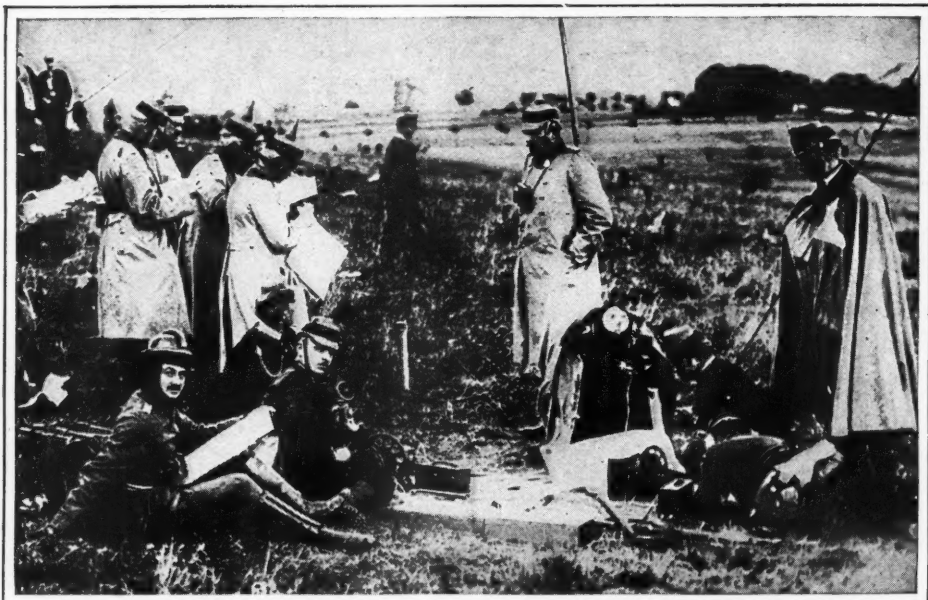
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PEGOUD (WITH THE MEDALS), THE FAMOUS FRENCH AVIATOR NOW IN THE SERVICE OF THE ARMY, AND HIS FIGHTING PASSENGER, MON-TERNIER

(Report credits this pair of air-scouts with some daring raids, including a 160-mile flight along the frontier carrying 800 pounds of explosives, returning to Paris with 97 bullet holes in the wings of their machine)

forts, yet so accurately had the German aviators located the forts that hardly a shot missed its mark. It was the Zeppelins, by the way, who started the downfall of the forts at Liège by the dropping of bombs.

The German system of using air machines, according to one report, seems to be to send out aeroplanes for preliminary scouting, and when these scouts return with information and photographs of the enemies' position and territory, to dispatch Zeppelins with large stocks of explosives for the purpose of inflicting damage at important points. In directing artillery fire, we learn that the German aviators signal the range to their distant batteries by throwing out a quantity of black powder. Soon after the appear-



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**GERMAN ARMY OFFICERS IN THE FIELD RECEIVING REPORTS FROM THEIR AVIATORS AFTER FLIGHTS OVER THE ENEMY'S CAMP**

ance of the powder cloud, the shrapnel begins to burst.

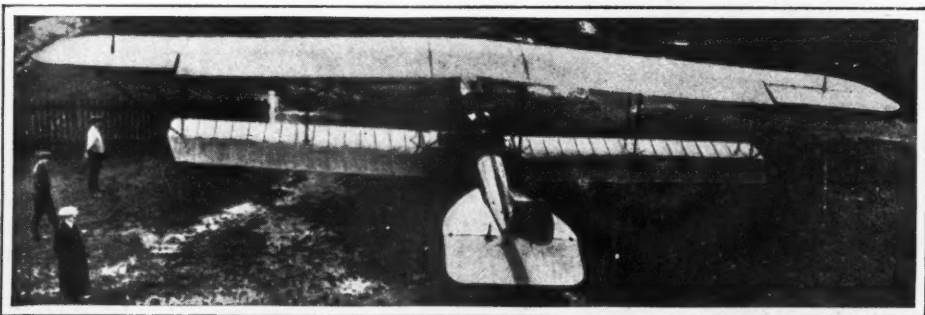
At the time of the German retreat across the Rivers Ourcq and Marne, a strong and well intrenched German force faced the Paris army that was protecting the flank of the Allies. An artillery battle ensued lasting for two days without interruption. Captain Belenger, of the aviation corps, finally got the exact location of the German batteries, and soon afterward they were annihilated by the French three-inch guns.

The various aviation corps, from all accounts, are being kept tremendously busy.

From the British aviation camps we get

some idea of the amount of work done. This report informs us that during a period of twenty days up to the 10th of September a daily average of more than nine reconnaissance flights of over one hundred miles each had been maintained.

"Bomb dropping," says the same writer, "has not been indulged in to any great extent. On one occasion a petrol bomb was successfully exploded in a German bivouac at night, while from a diary found on a dead German cavalry soldier it has been discovered that a high-explosive bomb, thrown at a cavalry column from one of our aeroplanes, struck an ammunition wagon, resulting in an explosion which killed fifteen of the enemy."



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

**ONE OF THE NEW GERMAN STEEL WAR PLANES OF THE "D. F. W." TYPE**

(Most of the German types of aeroplane resemble a bird in shape, for which reason the Parisians invariably refer to the German aerial visitors as "Taubes"—(pigeons) )

## PARIS AS A TARGET FOR AIR BOMBS

Thus far the actual destruction caused by aircraft, while considerable in total amount, has not perhaps borne out the terrible predictions of the possibilities in this direction.

The bombs dropped down into the city of Paris by German aviators, early in September, did little damage and had little effect on the people except to create a momentary diversion. The people of the city quickly became used to the new terror. A news dispatch says: "Parisians were disappointed to-day,—no German aeroplanes flew over the city." Paris crowds have, in fact, wondered why French aviators did not promptly engage the German aeroplanes, furnishing them with the spectacle of a battle in the air. But this is not safe. A downward-plunging fire is most effective in aerial attacks, and therefore such a contest, taking place over a city, would subject the populace below to danger from shots that miss the mark. The plan adopted, therefore, to cope with an aerial invader of a city is to attempt to drive him out into the open country before opening fire on him. To allay any possible fear of danger to Paris from German aerial intruders, the French War Office announced on September 1 that a squadron of armored aeroplanes, equipped with mitrailleuses, had been formed to give chase to the Germans. Guns mounted on the roofs of many buildings also blaze a warm welcome to the "Taubes," as the French call the German aeroplanes.

## THE ZEPPELIN BOMBARDMENT OF ANTWERP

In Antwerp, however, the explosives dropped by a Zeppelin on the night of Au-



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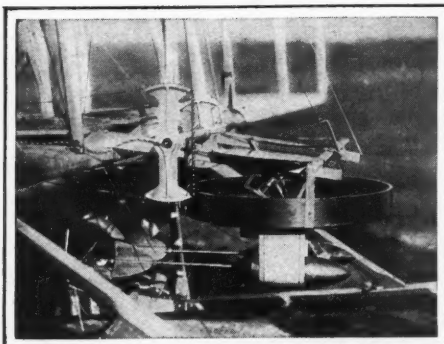
A FRENCH DIRIGIBLE DOING PATROL DUTY OVER THE FORTIFICATIONS OF PARIS

gust 24-25 did serious damage, causing the death of ten non-combatants and the destruc-



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FRENCH AEROPLANE DIRECTING THE MOVEMENTS OF HEAVY ARTILLERY



Photograph by Underwood & Underwood, New York

THE BOMB DROPPING DEVICE FOR AEROPLANES  
INVENTED BY LIEUT. SCOTT, OF THE UNITED  
STATES ARMY

tion of much property. On its second visit, on September 2, it dropped eight bombs, injuring ten persons. That the Zeppelin airships are capable of doing considerable damage in this manner cannot be gainsaid. These huge airships, in the opinion of some experts, have not yet demonstrated their full power. Great things have been expected of them. A Zeppelin raid on England, or on the great English fleet, has dramatic possibilities that have long appealed to the imagination and put the fear of the flying Teuton into John Bull's heart. He has had frightful visions of a great fleet of aerial monsters,—each as big as a city skyscraper, carrying a considerable crew and tons of explosives, and flying at a speed of from forty to sixty miles an hour, — sweeping over from Germany to England in the darkness of the night, destroying a large portion of London, as well as some of the important harbors, and then stealing away again. Whether such an aerial expe-

dition over England, or the destruction of the British fleet by Zeppelins, will be attempted, remains to be seen. It may be said, however, that the English have provided coast defenses for such a contingency and their battleships are equipped with guns for this purpose.

There are not lacking those who believe the Zeppelins to be greatly overrated, and that adequate provision can be made for protection against them. Reports from Antwerp have it that the first time a Zeppelin came it was unexpected. The second time it escaped only by hurried flight, while on its third visit,—if it should come a third time,—it would meet with a warm reception. Eyewitnesses of the effect of Zeppelin bombs freely used about Soldau report that these huge explosives make a funnel in the ground thirty-five feet in diameter, showing appalling power, but, on the other hand, they rarely hit a mark on the battlefield worthy of such costly efforts.

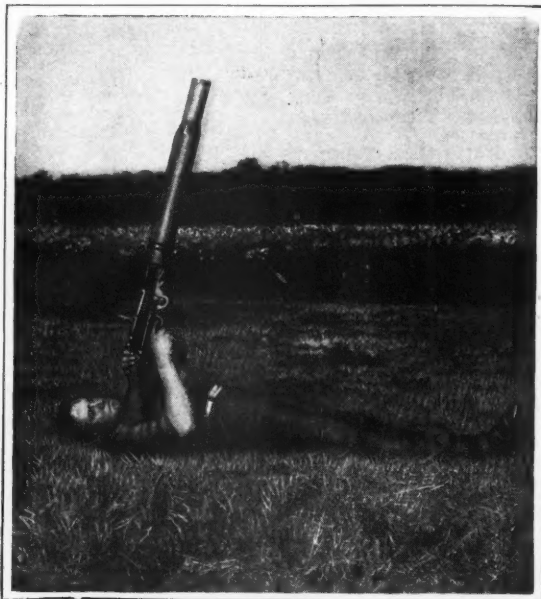
Reports of the destruction of some half a dozen Zeppelins by fire, wind squalls, and gunshots have come at different times, although an official denial of disasters to any German dirigibles has emanated from Berlin.

The destruction of as many Zeppelins as this would go some way to explain the absence of any punitive expedition in force of

Zeppelins, as these airships are too few and too valuable to be risked in a hazardous undertaking.

#### THE HAGUE RULES FOR AE- RIAL WARFARE

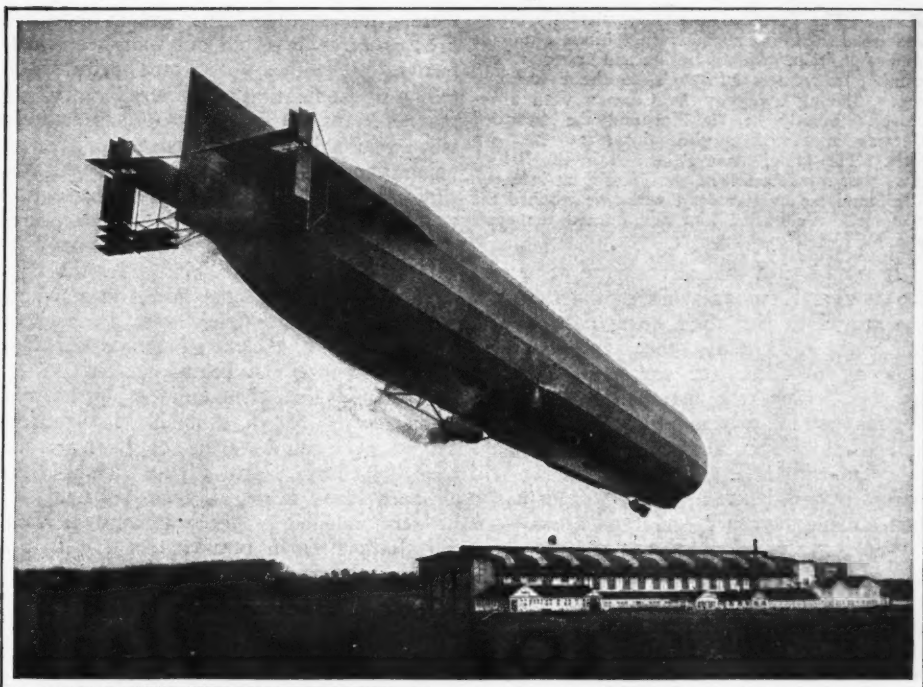
The bomb-throwing by a Zeppelin into the city of Antwerp brings up the subject of The Hague rules with regard to aerial warfare. The Hague Conference in 1899 voted to prohibit the discharge of projectiles and explosives from



ANOTHER AMERICAN INVENTION FOR FIGHTING  
AEROPLANES

(The Lewis rapid-fire gun, capable of firing over 700 shots per minute)





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#### ONE OF THE LATEST ZEPPELIN DIRIGIBLES IN FLIGHT

(These great battleships of the air are equipped with machine guns, and wireless apparatus, carry a large crew and a considerable quantity of explosives, and are capable of a speed exceeding 60 miles an hour)

aircraft, but of course left them free for observation purposes. The second Hague Conference also ratified this provision, although Germany, France, and Italy withheld their assent.

The nations are free, as a matter of fact, to use airships according to their own plans and discretion, the only prohibition generally recognized being the usual one against the bombardment of undefended places. The vigorous protest of the Belgians and others, as a result of the Zeppelin attack on Antwerp, was not that the place was undefended but that the bombardment violated the 26th article of The Hague agreement, which provides for proper notification in advance of intention to attack.

#### BATTLES IN THE AIR

Thrilling tales have already come of daring exploits of aviators in the face of great danger. When the war is over we shall doubtless hear of these at greater length. There has been a good deal of speculation as to "war in the air," many experts holding that there will be little of this sort of thing, for the reason that actual contact of machines in air will mean the certain destruc-

tion of both combatants. This is exactly what happened to a Russian and an Austrian aeroplane, according to a Reuter dispatch of September 9. Captain Nesteroff, the Russian aviator, was returning from a reconnaissance when he saw an Austrian aeroplane hovering over the Russian forces, presumably with the intention of dropping bombs. Nesteroff headed straight for the Austrian machine, dashing into it at full speed. Both machines collapsed and plunged to earth, the two aviators meeting instant death.

An Associated Press correspondent telegraphs under date of September 11:

I saw a duel between French and German machines, both of which were disabled in a hard battle. Both the pilots and their assistants kept up a lively exchange of revolver shots, which at first were ineffectual and then simultaneously they reached their marks, judging by the disturbed equilibrium of the machines. After careening downward in giant circles the two machines plunged to the earth almost side by side and were completely shattered, while the aviators were instantly killed.

Another correspondent sends this account:

The German and British armies watched a duel in the air between French and German aero-

planes. The Frenchman was wonderfully clever and succeeded in maneuvering himself to the upper position, which he gained after fifteen minutes of reckless effort. Then the Frenchman began blazing away at the German with a revolver. Finally he hit him and the wounded German attempted to glide down into his own lines. The glide, however, ended in the British lines near my detachment, the West Kent infantry. We found the aviator dead when we reached the machine. We buried him and burned the aeroplane.

It would seem that aircraft are at present too few and too valuable as the "eyes of the army" to risk their being destroyed in this manner. On the other hand, no army is going to allow the enemy's aircraft to spy out its position unmolested. Its own aeroplanes will give chase to the intruders, and should both craft be armed with guns or bomb-throwing devices, the result will naturally be a battle in the air. This has in fact already happened again and again.

We may see more of this sort of thing before the war is over. Mr. H. G. Wells, the noted English writer of scientific fiction, in the *New York World* last month, gave it as his opinion that this is to be a "war in the air," that the initial advantage of the German armies was due entirely to their superior equipment overhead and that ultimate victory for the allies or for any army can only be achieved by accumulating a sufficiently aerial force to battle effectively against the enemies' aircraft and destroying or driving them out of the air, thus blinding the "eyes" of their armies and putting them at the mercy of the armies whose aerial scouts are so fortunate as to survive.

Very interesting testimony of soldiers. scribing related:

are the bits of that have come from the returning wounded A British soldier, describing the fight at Mons, related: "German aviators

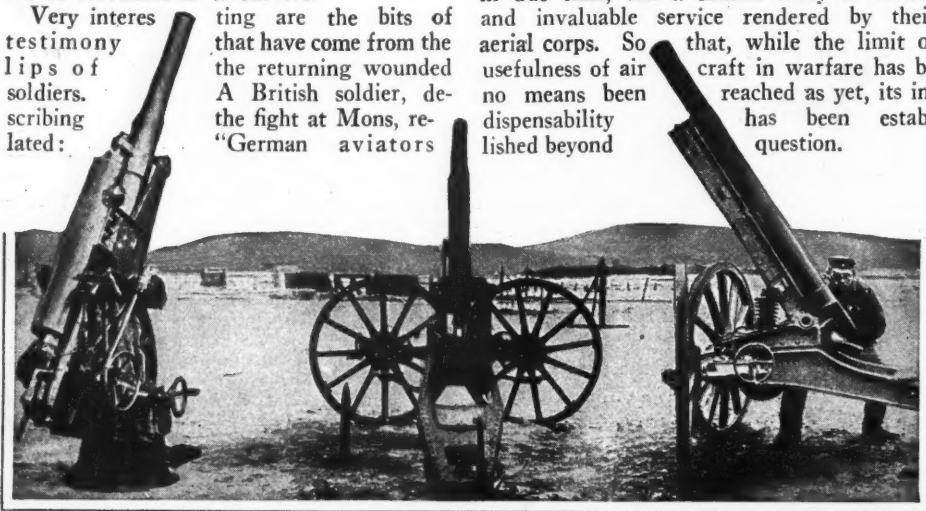
were directing their guns, and at times we fired on aeroplanes, but our shots were ineffective." Another,—a Scotch private,—in telling of the fighting which was "somewhere around Mons," said: "The German artillery was remarkably precise in its shooting. Zeppelins and aeroplanes were over us all the time, giving the gunners the range, so that the shells were bursting within two or three feet of where we were in the trenches."

Another relates this bit: "In the daytime they had aeroplanes to tell them where to drop the shells. They were flying about all the time. One came a bit too near. Our gunners, a long way behind, waited and let him come. Two thousand feet up, he was, I dare say. All of a sudden the gunners let fly. We could see the thing stagger and then, good-by, Mr. Flying Man. He dropped like a stone, all crumpled up."

Very valuable is the testimony of Gen. Sir John French, commanding the British forces, regarding the services of the English aviators during the fighting in France. This testimony is contained in General French's official report to Earl Kitchener, the British War Minister, published on September 10, and gives high praise to the Royal Flying Corps for its efficient services.

The French commander-in-chief was similarly strong in his commendation of the English aviators, in a message of thanks which he addressed to Earl Kitchener.

There is hardly room for doubt but that the commanding generals of the various other belligerents in the present conflict will, in due time, tell a similar story of heroic and invaluable service rendered by their aerial corps. So that, while the limit of usefulness of aircraft in warfare has by no means been reached as yet, its indispensability has been established beyond question.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

TYPES OF GUNS ESPECIALLY DESIGNED FOR ATTACKING AIRCRAFT

# NEWSPAPERS AND THE WAR

BY DON C. SEITZ

"THE day of the war correspondent is ended" was the most interesting announcement made at the outbreak of the great European war. Curiously enough, the newspapers themselves accepted it as a fact editorially, only to find that it was not true. Stern censorship, à la Japanese, had been immediately proclaimed and rigidly enforced, —also stupidly.

The Germans were automatically shut out from the Western World by the cutting of the cable from Berlin to the United States via the Azores. British cable sources were put under government control in a particularly idiotic way. Eight men handled the cable copy in London, each in his own happy fashion, with the result that the New York papers subscribing for the proofs of the London dailies had some amazing adventures. The self-same proofs sent to the *Times*, for example, would go through almost untouched, while the *World's* version would be reduced to the lowest terms of unintelligibility. No censor paid any attention to the views of the other as to what should or should not be transmitted. Finally, in despair, the *World*, the *Times*, and the *Tribune* pooled their London proof service, with the result at least of saving cable tolls and securing some sequence in the narratives.

## EFFECT ON EUROPEAN DAILIES

The French situation,—handled from London in the main, so far as America was concerned,—quickly settled into the daily report of the War Office, and showed more breadth of view in its bulletins than the English. The French newspapers were soon in *extremis* for lack of paper, being dependent on Norway, Sweden, and Germany for wood pulp. Within a week after the war began, size ruled from two to four pages. French papers have never been noted for expansiveness, six and eight small pages being the rule. The advertiser has not yet invaded France, despite the large circulations attained by Paris publications, which are the greatest in the world, running from 800,000 to 1,450,000 per day for the popular papers. Much of this output is distributed in the provinces by special agents. The *Petit Parisien* usually

went to press at four in the afternoon and ran its machines until four the next morning, the earliest issues going to the distant points and the latest constituting the Paris edition. The War Office at once prohibited the issue of extras. The evening papers were limited to a single edition, at 4 P. M. Headlines were not permitted, nor could the newsboys shout their wares.

The London papers, too, reduced size. The sixteen-page *Times* came down to ten pages, and the twelve-page *Mail* to six.

In Germany and Austria, extras took the form of small handbills. In Vienna, some of the papers distributed these announcements free to the public, presumably as an advertisement for the regular edition. These were confined to mere announcements of events past.

## NEW YORK AND THE WAR

The New York papers did not welcome war. They had a lively recollection of the conflict with Spain, when their pockets were emptied by colossal outlays for dispatch-boats, cable tolls, and the pay of men. The first jump in circulation came at a time when size was small, owing to the summer slump in advertising, so that there was a modest gain in circulation revenue, which, however, offset but a small part of the increased cost of getting the news. The two newspapers with the largest morning circulations in the city showed an increase of 12 per cent. during the first week of the war excitement. This later dropped back to practically normal figures. The big evening papers had a better and more lasting response. Their first increase was about 40 per cent., of which something like one-half was held. The difference in time,—five hours from London and seven from Petrograd,—accounts for this advantage. War news shuts down usually by mid-afternoon, so that the evening papers catch all that is going, leaving mainly warmed-over material to the morning press. The latter endeavored to make up the lack of fresh material by featuring opinions. To this end Admiral Alfred T. Mahan and Lieut.-Gen. Nelson A. Miles were first enlisted. The President's order requiring silence on the part

of all military and naval officers soon stopped this form of amplifying. Then foreign talent was called in. George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, Guglielmo Ferrero, and lesser lights have had much room in the morning field to express their views on the frightful phenomenon presented by the failure of armaments as an insurance for peace.

But the war correspondent sprang into being despite censors, war rules, and his obituaries. A few weeks before the outbreak of war, Bennet Burleigh died. He began his career in the American Civil War and had followed the various campaigns since for fifty years. His demise was noted as that of the last of his race. There were to be no more like him. The day when he and Henry M. Stanley, Forbes, MacGahan, and their kind were honored guests at headquarters was over. The next war would be fought without the reporters,—a thought written, alas, when there was no suspicion that in a few weeks the greatest war of all time would be raging.

#### ANGLO-SAXON DEMAND FOR PUBLICITY

In the beginning the aim of the censorship was quite properly to prevent the reporting of military movements, information of which would be of advantage to the enemy. The German lid was no tighter than that screwed on by Lord Kitchener, who even in his Khar-toum expedition had rigidly suppressed the writers, though it was hard to see how a dispatch to London would enlighten the Mahdist commanders. The war reporters took it as a bit of autocracy on the part of the inflexible "K" and hated him accordingly, though even he was unable to extinguish G. W. Stevens; for that matter, nothing but death could silence that capable person.

Yet as the war grew the need of publicity soon became apparent. The armies must be filled from the ranks of the people, and democratic people like the English do not care to be kept in ignorance. Given a reason, they will act; without one, the call for help is usually vain. The Anglo-Saxon races have not yet learned to go it blind, so the British War Office had to establish a bureau of its own and essayed to give out what it called news, in small quantities and of poor quality. This did not satisfy. Moreover, the war "broke" in Belgium, where the censor had not laid his hand. Men who happened to be on the ground, and in easy reach of England, felt the call to tell what they saw, and by wire and messenger the news came through. E. Alexander Powell, F. R. G. S., was one

of the observers on the scene, and he sent through some remarkable stories of the wanton crushing of Belgium by the German host. Belated travelers and amateur photographers enlisted themselves, until a flood of facts and pictures came forth from the field. The censors had their trouble for their pains. It all seems very silly, in view of the value of dirigibles and aeroplanes for scouting purposes, to assume that newspaper dispatches could be of any value to the foe. French and Belgian skies were full of these machines, able to locate all movements in ample season. The temporary suppression of the press can only be laid to the military desire to be absolute, which seems to develop as soon as the bugle blows.

Popular discontent in England soon caused a widening of the government's view and a slackening of the tight rein. Frederick Palmer, one of the best of the new generation of war correspondents, who went abroad principally to represent a magazine, soon received credentials from England to accompany the army as the representative of the Associated Press, the chief American news-gathering organization. The Germans received Col. Edwin Emerson, representing the *New York World*, and gave free passage to his copy. It became quite plain to all sides, as the event showed, that publicity was not so undesirable as at first it seemed.

The French at first proposed to allow one representative from each journal to go with the headquarters staff of their main army, but this privilege was cut off before the writers could join, presumably on a hint from "K." It can be said, though, that the French War Office's daily reports were concise, intelligent, and truthful. The German outlet through Holland had to pass the British censor to get to the United States. No one knows how much good stuff died en route. The United Press secured some very good German letters from Karl H. Wiegand, its Berlin correspondent. The German wireless from Nauen to Sayville, L. I., performed some wonderful feats of long-distance transmission through the air to the German Embassy, in Washington. The German Ambassador, Count Von Bernstorff, established himself in New York and became the Kaiser's mouthpiece for stating the German side to America. The state of public opinion in the United States seemed to stun German officialdom, and there sprang up in New York several volunteer organizations, under the guise of a "German-American" Chamber of Commerce, and literary bureaus designed to correct public opinion





## HOW FOREIGN-BORN NEW YORK GETS ITS WAR NEWS

[There is no more striking evidence of the diverse character of New York's population and of our vital interest in what is happening on the other side of the ocean than the number of daily newspapers in foreign languages published in New York and our other large cities. The above shows twelve dailies being eagerly bought on the news stands for war news. At the top of the column we have the third war extra of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* (German). Below is the *Courrier des Etats-Unis* (French). Then follow the *Bollettino della Sera* (Italian), the *Wahrheit* (Yiddish), the *Nordstjernan* (Swedish), *Atlantis* (Greek), *Russkoye Slovo* (Russian), *Robotnik Polski* (Polish), *New Yorksky Dennik* (Slovak), *Sveski Dnevni* (Serbian), *New-Yorské Listy* (Bohemian), and *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* (Hungarian).]

and more particularly to coerce the press by threats of boycotting as subscribers and advertisers. These organizations developed a singular viciousness of expression without the least cause for it. The newspapers were not and are not hostile to the great German people. They simply were against war, and Germany had made war! The most absurd charge was that the newspapers were suppressing all news favorable to Germany and exploiting the successes of the allies, when in fact the newspapers printed every item they could get from Germany, down to the smallest crumb, and exerted themselves to the utmost to get information through. Few if any had men in Germany. Their regular correspondents were expelled coincident with the declaration of war.

The least difficulty in the securing of news was, strangely enough, experienced in Petrograd. After the Russian armies were once on the march, the fullest details came from the capital by special and agency means. Francis McCullagh, representing the London *Daily News* and a group of New York papers, seems to have had no difficulty in procuring or sending information. By far the most complete accounts of military movements have been those of the Russians.

The Servians have been able to send the stories of their successes through Rome. The little that Austria has had to say has filtered through various more or less choked channels.

#### NEWS SOUGHT FROM TRAVELERS

The returning traveler has naturally been a fertile source of information, much of which, because of the censorship, could really be called news. The New York papers realized at once that American interest in the vast army of "home folks" caught in the toils of war would be equal to that in the event itself, and exerted themselves to the utmost to secure tidings of the whereabouts of Americans. The complete list of travelers gathered in London, before ocean transit was resumed, was printed by four New York papers, and all of them contained copious intelligence concerning the involuntary exiles, bringing relief to many homes. Much valuable material was gathered in London from the Americans who came to that haven from all points of the war compass, and cabled. Much more came by mail and by word of mouth when New York was reached.

The amount of space given by the Ameri-

can press to war news has been very great,—since the first of August, rarely less than five pages, often seven and eight. The cable tolls have been enormous and the expenses in the field heavy. Yet by that strange psychology which causes events to yield to others of greater magnitude in the world of news, little that could be called important happened in America during the first five weeks of war. That little received scant attention. The opening of the Panama Canal was the chief event of world interest. It got a couple of "sticks." Colonel Roosevelt disappeared from the front page. Mexico and its sputterings worked its way aft to page seven or eight. New York ran news-dry. Reporters sat idly in offices of the great dailies, days at a time. The *Evening World* has the busiest battery of telephones in town. They rarely rang.

#### EFFECT ON ADVERTISING

Another and very potent effect of the overshadowing power of great events was the effect on the business of newspaper advertising. The first half of 1913 had been one of exceptional activity in this line, both in classified and display. The last half of the year fell off perceptibly. Several large failures in the late fall accentuated the depression which continued until July. That month was prosperous. The first week in August, even with the war tidings, made a satisfactory showing. It seemed clear that the period of depression in America was past. The second week began to pay a toll to war, extraordinary in its proportions, particularly in its effect upon the small classified advertisements, notably "Help Wanted," the great barometer of New York industry. These had suffered some in September, 1913. In 1914 they dropped to about one-half of the proportions of the year before. The country for once in its history enjoyed perfect protection. No embargo on foreign wares could be more effective. The "pauper" labor of Europe was commandeered to war. The ocean was closed to foreign commerce. By all the rules industry should have tugged in its harness. Advertising is the trumpeter for industry,—the advance agent, the summons to trade activity. Why it should languish can only be explained on the ground of the absorption of interest in the tragedy. Men could think of nothing but war, the vast cataclysm of savagery, which had so suddenly engulfed mankind in world-wide disaster!

# OUR TRADE OPPORTUNITY IN LATIN AMERICA

BY JOHN BARRETT

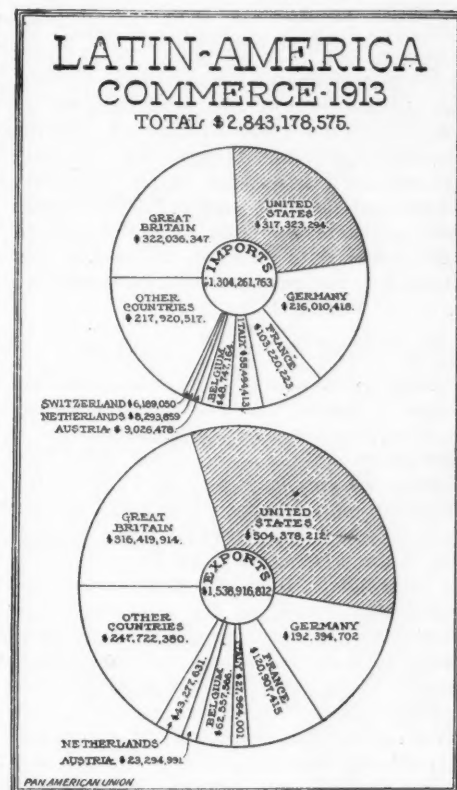
(Director-General of the Pan-American Union; formerly U. S. Minister to Argentina, Panama, and Colombia)

THESE are the times when everybody should be studying the twenty American republics lying south of the United States. These are the days of unprecedented and legitimate opportunity in Latin America for the commercial and financial interests of this country. This present year should be the beginning of a new epoch in the material, social and political relations of North and South America.

The next ten years are going to be "all American" years. All America is to attract the attention of all Americans. This new development is inevitable. The cause is found in the natural wealth, resources, and potentialities of Central and South America, their actual commerce and trade, their remarkable progress during recent years, together with the unceasing propaganda of the Pan-American Union, which was at first even ridiculed and little appreciated, but is now generally valued and recognized. The occasion of this new interest at this moment is the European war and the emphasis it has placed upon the geographical segregation and commercial solidarity of the nations of the western hemisphere.

Consider Latin America in any phase one prefers, and it is worthy of keen interest. Let us first look at it geographically and physically. We see twenty countries ranging in area from little Salvador, with less than 8000 square miles, or smaller than Vermont, up to mighty Brazil, with 3,200,000 square miles, or greater than the United States proper with Great Britain thrown in! In all, they spread over nearly 9,000,000 square miles, or three times the connected area of the United States! They contain mountains higher, rivers longer and more navigable, valleys wider and more fertile, and climates more varied than those of the United States.

Noting the population, we find that Costa Rica starts the small end of the list with 400,000 inhabitants, and Brazil tops it with



20,000,000. All Latin America supports to-day approximately a population of 75,000,000, which is increasing by reproduction faster than is the population of the United States. When the new emigration from Europe starts in after the war, and when the Panama Canal is in full use by the shipping of a peaceful Europe, this total may soon overtake and pass that of the big sister nation of North America.

## THE MAGNITUDE OF LATIN-AMERICAN TRADE

We are almost astonished by the figures of Latin-American commerce. They make us

respect many of the southern republics and peoples, even if some other influences may not be so favorable. Last year the twenty southern neighbors of the United States, through sheer strength and capacity, pushed up the total of their foreign trade to the huge sum of nearly \$3,000,000,000. This was divided almost equally between exports and imports, with the actual balance of trade in their favor. Argentina, for example, with an ambitious, vigorous and prosperous people numbering about nine millions of souls, conducted a foreign commerce valued at the surprising total of \$900,000,000, which makes an average of about \$100 per head. Chile, a land of achievement and promise, lying on the Pacific Coast of South America (like the States of California, Oregon and Washington, on the Pacific slope of the United States) covering an area of nearly 300,000 square miles, or more than that of Texas, and directly tributary to the Panama Canal, bought and sold in foreign commerce products valued at nearly \$262,000,000.

#### INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES

Seven years ago, in early 1907, the Pan-American Union, then known as the Bureau of American Republics, was reorganized in accordance with the action of the Third Pan-American Conference held in 1906 at Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil. At that great international gathering made memorable by the presence of Elihu Root, Secretary of State under President Roosevelt, it was unanimously voted by the delegates of the twenty-one independent American governments to make the bureau, which has been established by the First Pan-American Conference held at Washington in 1889, a powerful and practical organization and agency—absolutely international in its control, support and scope—for the purpose of disseminating useful information about each of the republics among them all, and thereby promoting Pan-American commerce, intercourse, friendship, and peace. It fell to my lot and it was my honor, following several years' service as United States Minister in the three Latin-American countries of Argentina, Panama, and Colombia, to be elected the first executive officer of the bureau under the plan of reorganization. I can, therefore, speak feelingly of the conditions and difficulties which at that time confronted the new plan and propaganda.

Although I was splendidly and loyally directed and supported by the Secretary of State of the United States and the Latin-

American ambassadors and ministers, who constituted its governing board, the task at first was indeed discouraging and almost hopeless. The general interest in Latin America throughout the United States was so little, and the knowledge of Central and South America possessed by the leaders of public opinion, educators, students, travelers, and especially manufacturers and exporters, was so meager that I literally went up against an almost unyielding stone wall of ignorance and prejudice.

Now, presto change! The Pan-American Union is to-day literally flooded, choked and overwhelmed with correspondence and inquiries, supplemented by daily calls in person of hundreds of men and women, coming from every part of the United States,—and Latin America also. Editors, congressmen, authors, librarians, statisticians, university professors and students, tourists, and a multitude of men and firms engaged in manufacturing, exporting, importing, banking, shipping, and engineering, pour an endless and swelling stream of questions and calls into the office of the Pan-American Union.

Looking at the international situation as it stands to-day, the war, no matter how much it is deplored, has done more in a very short space of time to awaken the real interest of the Government and people of the United States in Latin America, and correspondingly to turn the attention of the governments and peoples of Latin America, to the United States than all other influences put together during the last few years. It has suddenly aroused the great majority of the financial and commercial men of the United States, who before gave little consideration to Latin America, to a study and realization of the Latin-American opportunity. Their interest has reacted on the press and public at large, and we now behold a popular appreciation of the picture which we Pan-Americans have long painted in vain to the same press and people. In this quick and widespread awakening, however, the greatest care must be exercised that mistakes in judgment and expectation as to the Pan-American field of opportunity do not ultimately retard the real understanding and lasting intercourse that should permanently follow. Hysteria and excitement must give way to wisdom and calm. An accurate knowledge of exact conditions of trade and environment must not be neglected or overlooked under the fascinating influence of exaggerated stories of alleged golden opportunities.



WE ALREADY OUTRANK ENGLAND AND GERMANY IN LATIN-AMERICAN TRADE

The truth is that a considerable element of the manufacturers, exporters, importers, investors, bankers, and engineers,—some of them going back through an experience of thirty years, but most of them responding in the last ten years to the unremitting labor and educational work of the departments of State and Commerce of the United States and the Pan-American Union,—not only have not failed but have succeeded brilliantly in this field. It may surprise some readers of the REVIEW, but it is none the less true, that the exporters and importers of the United States during the last year not only conducted a greater total exchange of trade with Latin America than did their competitors in either Great Britain or Germany, but also a trade second only to that of these two countries combined! Here are the figures that tell the story: The total exchange of Latin-American products with those of the United States in 1913 was valued approximately at \$818,000,000; Great Britain, \$638,000,000; Germany, \$408,000,000. In exports to Latin America, Great Britain slightly led the United States, while Germany was far behind! The confirmatory



SOUTH AMERICA'S TRADE POSSIBILITIES



CENTRAL AMERICA'S TRADE

Germany, \$216,000,000. In purchases or imports from Latin America, the United States has a big lead over both Great Britain and Germany, or a total equal to both combined! The tell-tale figures are: United States, \$504,000,000; Great Britain, \$316,000,000; Germany, \$192,000,000.

Realizing that it might be in rebuttal that the balance of trade is against the United States, as is not the case with Great Britain and Germany, it must be pointed out that the imports of the United States from Latin America are largely valuable and useful raw products needed for the employment of labor and capital in manufacturing plants and for necessary food supplies. In other words, the United States, in the ultimate economic adjustment of values, has, in effect, no unfavorable balance of trade with Latin America and makes conse-

quently the best showing of any nation, not excepting Great Britain and Germany.

All this is emphasized and enlarged upon in order to destroy the old legend honestly founded on conditions of years ago, that the United States is far behind European countries and doing little compared with them in the Latin-American fields of commerce. On the other hand, it is to be admitted that there are still extraordinary opportunities for the United States to increase and diversify its Pan-American trade. Inasmuch, moreover, as the United States has made such a record in average times and in conditions of peace, it ought to do correspondingly well in these exceptional times and conditions of war.

#### THE TRADE WITH EUROPEAN NATIONS

There are two important phases of the present Pan-American commercial situation which should have frank and thoughtful consideration by the business men and others interested, if they would fully realize what must and should be done in the premises. The first is the amount or proportion of her foreign trade which Latin America conducts with European nations, many of whom are now at war and a share of whose trade the United States now expects to obtain. The second is the condition or capability of Latin America to transfer this commerce with the accompanying financial transactions from Europe to the United States and so swell the volume of the reciprocal trade between the United States and Latin America. The figures connected with these phases are both interesting and instructive and certainly not dry to the student of Pan-American possibilities.

The twenty countries of Central and South America, including the group of ten made up of Mexico, the five Central American republics of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, the three Caribbean lands of Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Haiti, and Panama, together with the South American Continental group of ten, consisting of Colombia, Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador, bought imports and sold exports in 1913, valued at the immense total of approximately \$2,843,000,000, of which the imports were \$1,304,000,000, and exports, \$1,539,000,000. Of these imports, fully \$770,000,000 came from countries now either at war or under the embargoes of war; and they were mostly manufactured products which could be supplied by the industries of the United States,

if Latin America wanted them or could afford to buy them. At present, by comparison, the United States sells similar products to Latin America valued annually at \$317,000,000.

These totals tell their own story,—in theory; in practise, the result will be determined by the ability of the American manufacturer and the Latin-American importer to meet the new and peculiar conditions of the market. Of her exports, Latin America sells to the same European nations raw products valued at approximately \$785,000,000. Although the United States takes Latin America's output to the value of \$504,000,000, no argument is needed to point out the vital importance to Latin America that a market for these exports, which would usually in times of peace be found in Europe, should now be found as much as possible in the United States.

The grand total of the regular annual commerce which Latin America conducts with Europe, when relations are not disturbed by war, should convince everybody that it offers a remarkable opportunity for the United States. What it does will largely depend upon its own efforts. Here, in other words, is an annual business of approximately \$1,553,000,000, which is awaiting an international readjustment. If, of course, the financial and commercial interests of the United States can devise ways and means to supply what, under the conditions, Latin America needs, and to buy, in turn, a goodly proportion of her surplus raw products, which have heretofore gone to Europe, they will not only bring large and permanent benefits to themselves, but to the corresponding interests of Latin America. This is self evident.

#### AMERICAN BRANCH BANKS IN SOUTH AMERICA

But the opportunity exists not only alone in exports and imports. Akin to these are the banking, shipping, and investment opportunities. The problem of banks is nearing a solution, though there are still both difficulties and possibilities. Between the United States and Panama there are several banks controlled by United States capital, but they are far from being enough for the demand. From Panama south to Argentina and Chile there has been no bank of United States capital until recently the National City Bank of New York City, acting under the provisions of the new Federal Reserve Act, decided to open branches in Rio de Janeiro and

Buenos Aires, with possible extensions to Valparaiso and Lima. There may be room for others if they are backed by sufficient capital, but they cannot expect large returns for several years. Ever since it was my experience to serve as United States Minister in the Argentine Republic ten years ago, I have repeatedly urged the banking interests of the United States to take advantage of this opportunity. It is, therefore, a source of extreme satisfaction at last to see these humble efforts rewarded.

#### THE INVESTMENT FIELD

The general investment and loan opportunity in Latin America is great,—possibly greater than that opening to direct trade, banking and shipping. Up to the time of the outbreak of war in Europe Latin America negotiated fully 95 per cent. of its public and private loans in Europe. National bond issues and loans for personal enterprises were floated and financed in London, Paris and Berlin rather than in New York. Now, the situation must change, for, even when the war is over, Europe will need all its spare money for home loans and bond issues to pay her war debts and make up for the industrial ravages of the conflict.

If the United States investors will reform their prejudices in regard to revolutions, the stability of governments and climatic conditions, they will enter upon a big new field of legitimate opportunity not unlike that which they enjoyed twenty years ago in the Western States. They will also earn the gratitude of the Latin-American governments and peoples whom they accommodate. Not only must governments have national loans, but railroad extensions, new steam and electric lines, water powers and plants, harbor improvements and docks, building operations, mining and timber working operations, and harvesting of crops, must be financed. With these demands for money covered by the United States, the vast supplies and materials required by the consequent development should come from the United States and reflect favorably on trade.

#### IMPROVED SHIPPING FACILITIES

In shipping, there is a peculiar opportunity and yet it has its limitations. While until now there have been only a few vessels flying the American flag and running between the Atlantic ports of the United States and those of the east coast of Latin America, it must not be overlooked that, considering foreign vessels with reference to numbers in service

and facilities for freight and passengers, there has been great improvement during the last five years. So extensive has been the favorable change that many men in public life and some editors and special writers have failed to keep track of the new conditions for carrying mails, freight, and passengers. They still cite the old condition as if they were true of the present. It is not an exaggeration to state that there has been an hundred per cent. improvement in the quality and quantity of the British and German vessels engaged in the Pan-American trade during the last ten years and up to the outbreak of the war.

It is a fiction that a considerable portion of the United States mails to Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, are sent via Europe. It is another fiction that there are no good passenger vessels sailing from New York to Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, and Buenos Aires. In fact, there are now several large passenger boats on that regular run, which provide as good accommodations as can be found on most of the European vessels. The steamship service on the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean sea is as fine as that on the Mediterranean, and here many American flags are seen. The recent transfer of the large fleet of United Fruit Company's boats from the English to the American flag marks a great step in advance. The best opening for improvement in both foreign and American steamship service is on the western or Pacific coast of Central and South America. Of freight vessels and lines flying foreign flags, there were abundant offerings for charter and cargo, up to the outbreak of war, throughout the Pan-American seas. That the trade of the United States and Latin America has not been so greatly hampered, as often declared, is shown conclusively by the fact that this commerce has increased nearly one hundred per cent. in the last eight or nine years, or from about \$450,000,000 to over \$815,000,000!

#### TRAVEL TO AND FROM LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

An interesting opportunity of signal importance in the present crisis, is that of developing the exchange of travel between the representative men of Latin America and those of the United States. Instead of always planning trips and excursions from the United States to, for example, Rio de Janeiro, Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Santiago, La Paz, and Lima, why not invite the men of those cities and their chambers of com-

merce to send delegations to the corresponding cities of the United States? The war will materially reduce the number of South Americans and Central Americans who regularly go to Europe and its capitals. Why not bring them to Washington, New York, Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans, and the other interesting cities of the United States? Correspondingly, if only a small portion of the Americans who usually seek European entertainment will visit the cities of South and Central America, they will enjoy an interesting experience and gain new ideas of the western hemisphere. There is no more powerful agency for peace, acquaintance, and commerce, than traveling. Travel and trade,—in short, travel and trade together!

There is also the little considered but most important educational and intellectual opportunity. Never was there a more opportune moment than this one for an intellectual appreciation of Latin America by the educated men and women of the United States. There should be a closer coming together of the men of intellectual leadership of all the American nations and peoples. There should be a migration to Latin America of the educators, scholars, scientists, and students of the United States,—not to teach and lead, but to learn and cooperate. Latin-American savants, professors, authors, and publicists should be invited to visit the United States and address the learned societies of its institutions and colleges. Students, both those in course and graduates, should be exchanged in increasing numbers by the universities of North and South America. For this end the Pan-American Union has labored incessantly for years and it is gratifying that some considerable progress is being made. Notable work in this direction has been done by the Pan-American section of the Carnegie Peace Endowment. Many of the universities, colleges, and scientific schools of the United States, have gone on record in the Pan-American Union as offering inducements to students from Latin America, and it is believed that this action will be reciprocated.

Allied to this idea of intellectual and educational relationship is that of the study in the United States of the Spanish and Portuguese languages and their literature. During the next decade, these languages bid fair to be of more practical value to the average young American than French or German. The more men and women there are in the United States who can speak Spanish and Portuguese fluently, the quicker will that sen-

sitive line of difference between North and South Americans disappear. It is to be remembered, moreover, that "Spanish America" as the phrase is commonly used, is hardly correct. Intended to mean or cover all the countries of the western hemisphere south of the United States, it cannot include Brazil, the largest Latin-American country in both area and population, whose language is strictly Portuguese, or even little Haiti where French is the predominant tongue. "Latin America" is the only safe and accurate general descriptive phrase in referring to the countries south of the United States, but the very serious mistake must not be made of disregarding the individuality of each country as is so often done. In discussing and describing the peoples of this or that land, they should not be called "Latin Americans," "Spanish-Americans," "South Americans," or "Central Americans," but described as "Argentines," "Bolivians," "Brazilians," "Chilians," "Peruvians," "Colombians," "Mexicans," et al. To call an "Argentine," or "Brazilian," with the name of "Spaniard" or "Portuguese" would be exactly like calling a Yankee, or Southerner who is descended through many generations in the United States, an "Englishman"!

Now, a word of caution may not be out of place. There is no Eldorado in Latin America! There is no golden road to sudden wealth in Central and Southern America! There is no army of business men there waiting with coin of the realm in their outstretched hands to purchase anything and all things which may be carried to them! There is no actual famine in the real necessities of life and in food supplies. There is no magic way of transferring immediately the great buying and selling operations of Latin America and Europe to corresponding transactions with the United States. There is, naturally, an unavoidable scarcity of money due to the widespread financial stringency of the world, caused by the war, which must for some time interfere with the upbuilding of a great, new Pan-American commerce, but, at the same time, these countries, these peoples, their products, their resources, their potential wealth and their conditions of demand and supply, already extensively developed, are there, and worthy of the careful investigation and study of business men and others who desire to participate in the great onward movement of the southern republics. The best way to know this fascinating field is to visit it in person,—or to send trusted and trained representatives with an appreciation



and knowledge of the environment, not only as it existed prior to the war, but as it is now affected by the war.

At this writing many things are being done officially and unofficially to meet the extraordinary situation, and a spirit of optimism is beginning to take the place of the pessimism which prevailed in both North and South America when the European war started its cruel campaign. The transportation problem is being tentatively met by acts of Congress, providing respectively for the American registry of foreign-built vessels and for the purchase of vessels by the Government to be leased in turn to private companies. In a very short time it should be possible to judge fairly the effect and value of these measures, and to take such other co-operative steps as they may require. The authorization given by the Federal Reserve Board to the National City Bank of New York to open branches in South America has already re-

sulted in a decided improvement of the Argentine-United States situation, and should work equally well in other countries.

The Argentine Ambassador, Dr. Romulo S. Naón, at the beginning of trouble, under the instructions of his government, opened a special office in New York City and conducted a natural gold exchange business between Argentina and the United States which proved a great help to their business and financial relations. Similar actions were taken by the Brazilian and Chilean Ambassadors and the Ministers of some of the other countries, although they did not actually open special offices. The Latin-American consular representatives in New York City met in response to the call of Mr. Gonzalez, Consul-General for Costa Rica, and took steps through their united action to relieve the tension and tie-up in the trade and money transactions between their lands and the United States.

## THE TURKISH CRISIS AND AMERICAN INTERESTS

BY REV. GEORGE F. HERRICK, D.D.

(Fifty years a resident of Constantinople)

**A**MID the surprises and the shocks of recent weeks now comes the act of the Ottoman Government in cancelling those treaties,—called "Capitulations,"—with foreign powers by which foreign residents in Turkey are constructively resident on the soil of their respective countries, personally responsible only to their own consuls. These treaties cover a variety of concessions, and limit materially the jurisdiction of the native courts over the persons and the various institutions, religious and educational, established by foreigners.

When constitutional government was proclaimed, six years ago, it was part of the program of the revolutionary party to denounce these treaties in order that Turkey might become independent of every form of control by foreign powers. They built a fine new post office and intended to close all the post offices of the European powers. They proposed to raise custom-house charges from 11 to 15 per cent. They were warned, however, against hasty action in these matters, and yielded to the warning, which was imperative.

The Turks have thought the present the psychological moment to accomplish, once for all, what they have for six years determined to do at the earliest possible opportunity. Of course they know that their action will meet with protest by the powers. Indeed it has already done so. They are probably counting on some serious gain from remaining neutral in this war. It is quite in accord with Oriental diplomacy to make demands larger than can be met,—demands which will form the basis for bargaining in the future.

This step they have taken, however, is infinitely better for all concerned than would have been a decision to yield to the extreme pressure of Germany to join her in a war against Turkey's best friend in Europe, England, and at the same time against her gigantic traditional foe, Russia.

In order to measure the significance of this act of the Ottoman State we must in the first place glance back over the events of recent years. The writer can then perhaps make a reasonable forecast, based on a life-long residence at the Ottoman capital, of the sig-

nificance of the act in its effect upon Turkey's future, and especially upon American interests in those lands.

Constitutional government in Turkey is a child of six years only. Hardly that, for it was not till April 27, 1909, that the typical Oriental despot, Abdul Hamid II, was dethroned. The real patriots were few; those who were willing to see the young life perish were very numerous, both within and without Turkey. The "Young Turks," not all of them young men, did splendid work the first year, and all Europe applauded.

It was a stupendous task which they assumed. It would have been a miracle if they had not made mistakes. Before a second year had passed, they did make grievous blunders in Albania. Italy seized her opportunity and, unrebuked by the other great powers of Europe, appropriated Tripoli. Greece, Bulgaria, Servia, and Montenegro together pounced upon Turkey and wrested from her most of her European possessions. Turkey held and still holds that she was unjustly treated by Europe in the settlement, that the "Christian" powers hastened to tear up their treaties with a Moslem state the moment it appeared for their interest to do so. During the past year the Turks have struggled, in the face of tremendous odds, to restore and establish good order and just administration in what remains of their empire.

Now comes the catastrophe so long threatened,—general war in Europe.

It is of supreme importance for Turkey that she remain neutral. She imperils her very life if drawn into the conflict. Germany uses every effort, makes large promises, holds out dazzling allurements to Turkey to join her against England, France, and Russia. The Turkish army is drilled by German officers. Two German war-ships are thrust into the Dardanelles and sold to Turkey. The Turkish war minister, Enver Pasha, was long military attaché of the Turkish Embassy at Berlin. He is connected by marriage with the imperial Ottoman house. He was the hero of the retaking of Adrianople, and has great influence in the Ottoman cabinet.

The ambassadors of England, France, and Russia point out to the Turks the imminent danger they would incur if they were to yield to the persuasions of Germany. Greece, Bulgaria, and Roumania also threaten to join the allies in case Turkey joins with Austria and Germany. It is characteristic of Turkish diplomacy carefully to watch the

political tides of Europe and be in no hurry in deciding which way to jump.

Meantime the Turks are asking one another if the present clash in Europe is not the very opportunity they have been waiting for to free themselves from the domination of foreign powers. Shall they not venture to do what Japan long ago successfully accomplished? Shall not Turkey, henceforth, be in fact as well as in name an independent power? Shall she not do of her own free motion what the times require, not be humiliated longer by European dictation? She confesses her need of foreign capital and expert help in many ways; but is bound to act independently of any outside control.

If she is met in a friendly spirit, in no hostile manner, Turkey may become a reconciler of racial antagonisms within her own borders and a real safeguard to peace between East and West, while with Western help she works out her own salvation.

We come now to the question of chief importance for Americans. How will the step Turkey has just taken, modified as it must necessarily be by diplomacy, affect American interests in the Ottoman Empire?

I unhesitatingly reply that Americans in their persons and as regards their institutions in that country are not endangered. Americans are no strangers in Turkey. They have lived in kindly relations with their Moslem neighbors for two generations. Confidence is a plant of slow growth; but now we have the confidence of the Turks. They know we have no designs against their country. They recognize our philanthropic aims and acts. There are ten American colleges, twenty high schools, twelve hospitals, located at strategic centers in Turkey and all full of native patrons.

I have no prophet's commission, but I venture to anticipate an application by Turkey in the near future for American capital and for men to be her leaders in education, in engineering, in mining, and in judicial reform. There is no nation comparable to the American, in both fitness and opportunity, to give to Turkey the aid she needs and will be grateful for in making actual the rejuvenation, the regeneration of that long down-trodden and distressed land. Already American educational and medical plants have been established in the Ottoman empire at an expense of many millions of dollars and those institutions are administered by men and women eminently fitted to represent in the Orient the best that America has to give to the people of other lands and other races.

# THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION BILL

BY HON. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS

(United States Senator from Nevada)

THE most important economic legislation required by the platform of the Democratic party at the last election was that relating to the tariff, banking, and the trusts. In less than a year the tariff and banking legislation was disposed of, with only the temporary disturbance to business which always accompanies economic changes. The causes of the disturbance were more psychological than real, but the human mind is so constituted that exaggeration, apprehension, and alarm are often as harmful as actualities.

The disturbed conditions of business led many to think that it would be well to postpone trust legislation until business had readjusted itself to the changed conditions; but the President, feeling that apprehension would be more prejudicial than realization itself, and that it would be better to put all economic legislation behind us, in order that we might address ourselves to the constructive problems of the future, pressed the subject upon the consideration of Congress. The wisdom of this course cannot, in my judgment, be questioned. Whilst the effects of world-wide complications are now being felt, it is with relief that we view the enactment of trust legislation and the inauguration of constructive, in place of correctional, legislation.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce it was my privilege to be brought into communication with the President on this subject. Pursuing his usual policy as a party leader, the President, before making his recommendations, consulted the committees of the Senate and the House having jurisdiction over the subject-matter; and the result was that three tentative measures were framed: first, a bill supplemental to the anti-trust act, covering certain practises in trade and corporation management which had come under popular condemnation, as well as the labor and injunction questions; second, a trade commission bill, and, third, a railway securities bill.

The last-named was designed to give the Interstate Commerce Commission power to control the stock and bond issues of common carriers. It passed the House, was reported with amendments to the Senate, and is now on the calendar; but owing to the disturbed condition of the money and securities markets, it has been deemed advisable to postpone final action until the next session. Its consideration will not be taken up in this brief statement, beyond saying that the crucial question to be determined is, whether full publicity shall be relied upon to prevent the scandals in railway stock and bond issues that have characterized the past, or whether absolute control of the stock and bond issues of railway carriers shall be given to the Interstate Commerce Commission.

At the time this article is being written the so-called Clayton bill, involving the supplementary legislation referred to, is in conference between the two houses of Congress. In view of the important differences between the House and the Senate bills, it is not possible to predict with certainty its final form. It is safe to say that the bill as finally passed will cover prohibitions as to tying contracts, intercorporate stock holdings, and interlocking directorates in competing companies, and corporate purchases of supplies in which corporate directors or officers are interested, as well as the exemption of labor organizations from the condemnation of the anti-trust acts, the modification of the law regarding injunction and contempts of court, and the personal punishment of directors, officers, and agents of corporations whose violation of the anti-trust laws they have aided or abetted.

I believe that the long and exhaustive consideration of this subject by the committees of the House and Senate, and by the two houses themselves, will result in the enactment of legislation from which great good will flow in the promotion of fair dealing, the advancement of business honor, and the recognition of the fact that labor is not merely an economic but a human problem. We

can await with patience and confidence the outcome of the deliberative processes through which this bill has gone.

"With reference to the Trade Commission bill, it is possible to speak with greater certainty and detail. The two houses adopted the conferees' report without opposition, and the bill became a law when it was signed by the President.

#### INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION FURNISHED A MODEL

I was greatly gratified when the President included in his message a recommendation for a trade commission bill. Having served in the House and Senate a period almost commensurate with the life of the Interstate Commerce Act and the Sherman Anti-trust Act, I had observed the steady, continuous, and consistent enforcement of the former under an almost unchanging commission, as contrasted with the changing, inconsistent, and spasmodic enforcement of the latter under the shifting incumbency of the Attorney General's office, and had long since concluded that the only way of securing the adequate enforcement of the Sherman law was through a commission with powers of investigation and condemnation similar to those of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

The matter had become so clear in my own mind that after repeated discussions of the subject, on the 11th of January, 1911, I summed up my conclusions in the Senate in the following words:

The railroad commission bill furnishes a model for the action of Congress upon matters involving minute and scientific investigation. Had we followed the same method regarding trusts that we followed regarding railroads, we would have made much better progress in trust regulation. The anti-trust act was passed twenty-one years ago, about the same time that the railroad commission was organized. The railroad question is practically settled; the settlement of the trust question has hardly been commenced. Had we submitted the administration of the anti-trust act to an impartial quasi-judicial tribunal similar to the Interstate Commerce Commission instead of to the Attorney General's office, with its shifting officials, its varying policies, its lack of tradition, record, and precedent, we would by this time have made gratifying progress in the regulation and control of trusts, through the quasi-judicial investigations of a competent commission and through legislation based upon its recommendations. As it is, with the evasive and shifting administration of the Attorney General's office, oftentimes purely political in character, we find that the trusts are more powerful to-day than when the anti-trust act was passed, and that evils have grown up so interwoven with the general business of the country as to make men tremble at the consequence of their disruption.

#### DEBATED UNDER TWO ADMINISTRATIONS

Pursuing the convictions thus expressed, I introduced on July 5, 1911, Senate bill No. 2941 for the creation of a trade commission, and subsequently, on the 21st of August, 1911, introduced a substitute for it bearing the same number. About this time the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce, under the chairmanship of Senator Clapp, entering upon an exhaustive investigation of the necessity for further trust legislation, held hearings (in which more than a hundred witnesses gave their views) and published testimony covering nearly three thousand pages; all of which was carefully digested by the Bureau of Corporations. During this investigation the bill which I had introduced was carefully considered by the committee and amended and improved, but was not reported, the committee concluding not to report a bill, but simply to report generally upon the subject.

The report of the majority, prepared by Senator Cummins, was a clear and powerful statement of the arguments in favor of a trade commission. Later, on the 26th of February, 1913, in the closing days of Mr. Taft's administration, I introduced the bill as amended and improved by the Senate Committee (Senate bill 5485) and later, on the 23rd of April, 1913, in the early part of Mr. Wilson's administration, I reintroduced the bill (Senate bill 829). The bill thus evolved, though differing in detail in the various drafts, covered practically all of the matters embraced in the Federal Trade Commission bill as finally enacted, including even in the draft of August 21, 1911, the condemnation of "unfair methods of competition,"—a provision which was subsequently revived in the bill as enacted. This bill later became the basis of the present legislation, and with reference to it Mr. Clayton of the House of Representatives caused to be printed in the *Congressional Record* the following statement:

The bill will be introduced at the same time by Representative Clayton and Senator Newlands. The bill is modeled after the lines of what is commonly known as the Newlands bill, which was introduced in the Senate by Senator Newlands, and involves the fundamental idea that a trade commission shall be created, consisting of five members, with full inquisitorial powers into the operation and organization of all corporations engaged in interstate commerce, other than common carriers. It provides for a commission of five members, makes the Commissioner of Corporations chairman of the board, and transfers all the existing powers of that bureau to the commission. Its relation to the Attorney General's



office and to the courts is advisory. Its principal and most important duty, besides conducting investigations, will be to aid the courts, when requested, in the formation of decrees of dissolution, and with this end in view it empowers the courts to refer any part of pending litigation to the commission, including the proposed decree, for information and advice.

I may add that the tentative bill thus introduced was made the subject of the most exhaustive study and hearings by the committees of the House and Senate, the Covington bill, a modification of the Clayton bill, being reported to the House, and the so-called "Newlands bill" being reported in the Senate. The Newlands bill was substituted in the Senate for the Covington bill, previously passed by the House, and in conference a bill, a composite of both bills, was reported and was confirmed by both Houses.

I have thus gone over, at the risk of being tedious, the history of the genesis and the development of this legislation in order to show that the bill was not the result of hasty action, but was the evolution of investigation, deliberation, and debate under two administrations, such as few bills have received, and the final vote in both Houses,—unanimous in one and nearly unanimous in the other,—indicates that it is the product, as all legislation should be, not of partisan zeal or violence, but of a sound public opinion.

#### WHAT THE NEW COMMISSION CAN DO

As to the powers of the commission. Briefly stated, they relate to investigation, to the condemnation of unfair methods of competition, and to the aid of the Attorney General and the courts in the enforcement of the anti-trust acts.

The merger of the Bureau of Corporations, with all its officials and powers, in the Federal Trade Commission, insures the preservation of the accumulated experience and knowledge of that useful organization. The creation of a commission, with varying terms for the first appointees, and thereafter a fixed term of seven years for their successors, guards against sudden changes in the personnel of the commission, and insures stability, consecutiveness, and persistency. Its independent character insures against political, legislative, or executive control, and makes it a quasi-judicial tribunal of great dignity.

It will not be subject in its policies to the influence of party mutations, or to the control which slows down or accelerates prosecutions with a view to political exigencies. It will do away with the office adjustments of the Attorney General's office, which,

whilst doubtless conducted with propriety by the incumbents, arouses the suspicion always created by so-called star-chamber proceedings. Everything now will be done in the open, in the public eye, after hearing and argument to which all may have access. No one can question the effect of such dignity and publicity of procedure upon the public mind, now keenly sensitive and perhaps unduly critical.

The general powers of investigation are applied only to corporations, the creations of the law, artificial beings owing their existence to the law-making power. It was not thought wise to extend the general power of investigation to individuals and firms engaged in interstate commerce, lest the commission should break down under its burden, and also because the organizations and practises complained of are generally of a corporate character.

While the powers are necessarily broad, none but the guilty need fear, just as none others need fear the criminal code, which is applicable to all and with reference to which the extraordinary powers of grand and trial juries may be invoked. These powers are contained in section six, which authorizes the commission to gather and compile information concerning, and to investigate the organization, business, conduct, practises, and management of, corporations engaged in commerce, except banks and common carriers; to require such corporations to file annual or special reports, and to furnish the information required; to investigate the manner in which decrees are carried out, and to report its findings and recommendations to the Attorney General; to investigate, upon the direction of the President or either House of Congress, and to report regarding alleged violations of the anti-trust acts by any corporation; to investigate, upon application of the Attorney General, and to make recommendations for the readjustment of the business of any corporation alleged to be violating the anti-trust acts, in order that it may thereafter conduct its business in accordance with law; to make the information which it collects public in its discretion, except trade secrets and names of customers, and to make annual and special reports to Congress with recommendations for additional legislation; to classify corporations and make rules and regulations for the enforcement of the act; and to investigate trade conditions in and with foreign countries, where associations, combinations, or practises of manufacturers may affect our foreign trade, and to report thereon to Congress.

These powers are only slightly greater than those which the Bureau of Corporations has had and which have never been used oppressively. It is not believed that the commission will find it necessary to investigate many of the corporations engaged in interstate commerce. The powers must be general, but their exercise will necessarily be limited to the few corporations which are violating the law.

Section seven of the bill gives the commission additional power to aid the courts, by providing that in any suit in equity under the anti-trust acts the court may refer to the commission the question of the form of the decree to be entered. In such a case the commission is to act as a master in chancery, and proceed in due form, under rules laid down by the court.

The additional powers given the commission, not directly in aid of the courts or of the Attorney General, are, first, the power to prevent unfair methods of competition, with respect to which it may initiate proceedings and make orders, enforceable through the courts; second, the power conferred by the Clayton bill to enforce the prohibition of intercorporate stockholding and interlocking directorates, so far as relates to corporations other than banks and common carriers.

#### DEALING WITH UNFAIR METHODS

The provisions relating to unfair trade practises, in section five, provoked the sharpest debate. The language used is, that "unfair methods of competition in commerce are hereby declared unlawful"; and the commission is empowered and directed to prevent the use of such methods by "persons, partnerships, or corporations, except banks and common carriers." Parties under investigation are to have a hearing, after due notice. If the commission finds adversely, a copy of the findings must be served upon the guilty party. If the order of the commission is not obeyed, it may be enforced through the circuit court of appeals, which thereupon has exclusive jurisdiction; but the findings of fact by the commission are made conclusive, though provision is made for remanding the case to the commission for additional evidence upon proper cause being shown. An appeal to the same court may also be taken by any party affected by an order of the commission.

In the course of the long and earnest debate on the floor of the Senate, it was insisted that there should be some definition of the unfair practises at which this legislation is aimed. Perhaps the best answer to this con-

tention was that contained in the statement of the House conferees, who said:

It is impossible to frame definitions which embrace all unfair practises. There is no limit to human inventiveness in this field. Even if all known unfair practises were specifically defined and prohibited, it would be at once necessary to begin over again. If Congress were to adopt the method of definition, it would undertake an endless task. It is also practically impossible to define unfair practises so that the definition will fit business of every sort in every part of this country. Whether competition is unfair or not generally depends upon the surrounding circumstances of the particular case. What is harmful under certain circumstances may be beneficial under different circumstances.

The question as to court review of the commission's orders brought out wide differences of opinion. Individually I saw no necessity for anything but a provision expediting the proceedings in the courts. I had no doubt that when the commission brought its suit to enforce its order the court would, without express direction, determine, first, whether the order violated the constitutional rights of the party affected; second, whether the order was within the authorized power of the commission; third, whether the facts found by the commission constituted the legal offense charged. I regard the compromise provision framed by the conferees as meeting this view, for it makes the findings of the commission as to the facts, if supported by testimony, conclusive.

The remaining sections relate to details of administration, penalties, etc. The commission or its authorized agents are, at all reasonable times, to have access to any documentary evidence of any corporation being examined or proceeded against, and the right to examine and copy the same, and it may summon witnesses and compel their attendance. Adequate penalties are provided.

As to the effect of this legislation upon the business of the country, I believe it will be beneficial. The Federal Trade Commission, composed as it will be of eminent lawyers, economists, and business men, will gradually, with reference to trade, as the Interstate Commerce Commission has done with reference to transportation, build up an administrative system of law and establish a code of morals that will bring certainty, peace, and security to the business world. Under it great corporations will be brought in harmony with the law without the violent readjustments prejudicial to the business interests of the country. A commission of this kind will be instructive rather than punitive, and helpful rather than disturbing.

# THE WAR ON ITS HUMAN SIDE

**T**HIS war has been fought behind the veil of the censor. Every one of the governments involved has absolutely refused to permit newspaper correspondents at the front. The world has had its news in the brief, almost abrupt, formal announcements from the official army heads and from the testimony of private individuals who have had the good, —or ill,—fortune to be at or near the scenes of conflict. Mr. Seitz's article on another page reviews the entire newsgathering situation. There have been a few newspaper men, however, who have seen some of the war,—from a distance, or, at least, some of the side acts of the great drama. From a few of the more graphic of the accounts sent forward by these and other writers we quote below:

## The Grip of the Censor

In two great wars before this,—the Russo-Japanese and the Balkan,—so we are reminded by Herbert Corey, the correspondent of the *New York Globe* in Paris, the war correspondent discovered that war departments considered him "a necessary nuisance." In this war "he is discovering that he is regarded as a nuisance who isn't necessary."

Not a single correspondent is near enough the line of battle to hear the roll of guns. If he should get that near by one of the accidents of war he would probably be cooped in a tent under guard until it became possible to shoo him out of the country under guard. . . .

No newspaper men were allowed at the front by the French military authorities at the beginning of hostilities. Ditto as to the Russian and German and Austrian and Servian armies. Because the war is being fought in Belgium, and was therefore regarded as something of a local institution, correspondents of the Belgian papers chartered automobiles and raced up and down the front for the first few days. Over in London a tall, rather gaunt, elderly gentleman regarded with disapproval the stories that were getting into print. His name is Kitchener. By and by he got ready to move 150,000 English Tommies into Belgium and take a hand in the fight.

"There will be nothing printed in the English papers about this," said he.

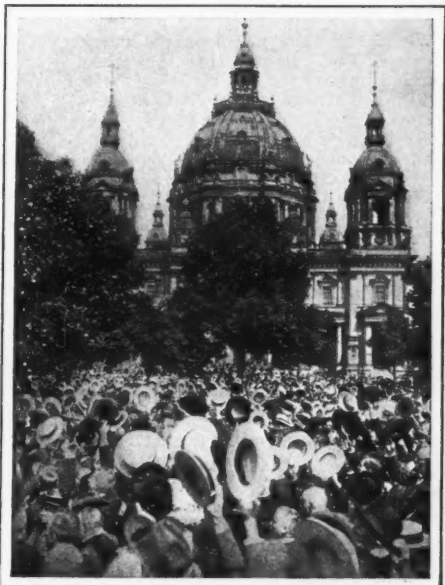
That settled it. There was nothing printed. There were mouth-to-ear rumors in circulation, of course, but no one knew. . . . There is no way in which a correspondent can get his news to a foreign paper. The censorship is copper-riveted and air-tight. And it operates everywhere.

Oct.—7

## How the Kaiser Signed the War Declaration

A very interesting picture of the German Kaiser in a role not usually assigned to him was presented by the experiences of a New York gentleman who happened to be in Galicia when the war broke out. From a member of the German General Staff, whom he knows intimately, this gentleman learned of the mood of the Kaiser during those dramatic hours preceding the signing of the declaration of war against Russia. Emperor William, it appears, could not believe that war was inevitable. According to the information supplied by the traveler, the Kaiser was certain that the Russian Czar would prevent war, when the German General Staff presented "conclusive proof" that the Russians had crossed the eastern border of Germany, and that the French had invaded the country on her western frontier.

The staff urged the Kaiser to declare war, and told him that they would not be responsible to the people if decisive action was not



CROWDS CHEERING THE GERMAN EMPEROR AND THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA IN THE LUSTGARTEN (BERLIN)

(After diplomatic relations had been broken off between Austria and Servia)



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PARISIANS WATCHING FOR GERMAN "TAUBEN" (WAR BIRDS)

taken at once. The Kaiser asked for an hour alone in which to think it over.

At the end of the hour the member of the General Staff from whom my friend received the information went to the door of the room into which the Kaiser had retired, and saw his Emperor seated with his elbows on a table, and his head between his hands. He turned to his officer and the other members of the staff, and said: "Apparently I cannot do otherwise."

#### Paris in War Time

All testimony regarding mobilization in France and Germany accords tribute to the soberness, thoroughness, and devotion with which the assembling of the troops was accomplished. One of the women members of the staff of the *New York Evening Post* (Miss Louise T. Nicholl) was in Paris during the mobilization of the French army. Speaking of one night, she says: "It was the wildest of my life . . . Soldiers tore past all through the hours."

Americans and all other foreigners were leaving in great numbers, whole families together, hurrying along, sometimes talking in shrill voices, sometimes keeping a hurried silence, which was worse. They were all on foot, for no one but soldiers could ride in machines, and almost all the horses were taken for the army. No one could take baggage with him which he could not carry himself, and the people's arms and hands were full. Often two men carried a trunk

between them. All night long the life of the Paris streets went on, and fragments of it floated up to us in sight and sound. . . .

That night we saw aeroplanes—German, they said,—hovering over Paris, and we realized again that Paris was not simply a place for Americans to flee from, and that there were other things in the world than passports, railroad tickets, and American checks.

On her way to England to leave from Southampton for New York she says that she will never forget the faces of Parisians at war time.

Thoughtlessly I asked the maid in my hotel whether she had any relatives in the war. She looked at me for a minute, quite speechless. Then she touched her breast with a little quick French movement:

"C'est fini," she whispered, and went out of the room, lest I should see her cry. I learned afterwards that her husband, her three brothers, and her husband's brothers had all gone. And after that, under all the shouting of the mobs, under all the fragments of the national hymn which every one was singing, under all the laughter of the little children who did not understand, I heard that woman's whispered words, "C'est fini."

#### The Silence of London

It is a war of silences in England. Writing in the *Independent* (New York), Sydney Brooks describes "England Silent and Determined":





Photograph by Paul Thompson, New York

"ENGLAND SILENT AND DETERMINED"—NEW RECRUITS DRILLING

I have watched regiments march through London to entrain for the front amid crowds that hardly so much as cheered them. In silence the fleet was mobilized, prepared, and sent away to its unknown posts in and around the North Sea. In silence and swiftness the expeditionary force was got together and transported across the English Channel. Not a word of either movement appeared in the British press. The French Government had officially announced the disembarkation of the British troops in France ten days before any English paper was allowed to mention it. And a like silence hangs over the whole nation. It is not the silence of apathy or impassiveness and still less of apprehension. It is the silence of a people caught up and somewhat dazed by an overwhelming emergency, but with its mind made up and its purpose steeled.

### Sung Out of Germany

The tribute to the German patriotic fervor is unanimous, although some foreigners who were in the Fatherland during the tense days of mobilization found that the universal German practise of singing at moments of strong emotion rather "got on their nerves." One Englishman, Mr. Robert Crozier Long, describes in *Collier's* how, in company with the English ambassador, he was sung out of Germany:

I first believed that there was no war. Then the Germans began to sing. They sang first, I think, at Hanover. Our train drew up at a platform crowded with reservists in civilian clothes. Each man carried a neat cardboard box with his effects and food.

The news spread like fire that here was the British Ambassador. "*Der Botschafter Goschen!*"—the envoy of Germany's latest, greatest, most inexorable foe. Then the reservists, pale-faced shopmen and clerks, began to sing as only Ger-

mans sing. A few menaced. They sang "The Watch on the Rhine," the most terrible of war songs, which to France's "Marseillaise" is as a steel bar is to a rapier. After Hanover, Germans sang all the way. At Wunstorf, our next stopping place, we were sung to by Red Cross girls. This was more terrible still. It was pitch dark. Behind the barrier enclosing the platform crowded the whole Wunstorf population. On the platform, so close that they breathed against the windows, were two hundred girls. The car in which I was dining with the *Standard* correspondent stopped opposite the middle of the singing group. At first the girls made no demonstration. Then a whisper passed round: "*Der Englische Botschafter!*" ("The English Ambassador!")

The girls began to sing. For half an hour they sang, "Germany, Germany Over All," to Haydn's heart-searching music. Plain repetition without taking breath. They changed to "The Watch on the Rhine" and sang it thrice. Then our train left. The girls waved their hands ironically. They kept perfect order. But the drilled singing, the spiteful, sardonic faces, and the last contemptuous movement of the hands! I sha'n't forget it. All that night, whenever we stopped at wayside stations, we heard from disciplined throats that Germany would be "over all in the world," and that "The Watch on the Rhine" was "honest and true." *Ehrlich und treu!* I began to wish that the crowds would throw stones or raid the train. But every half-hour, instead, rang out the tremendous singing. The exception was the last station we passed before the Dutch frontier. Here there was hardly a soul in sight. Only a sentry, a station master, and a small boy. A little attenuated, spiderlike boy swinging a vast wooden sword, on his head a ridiculous toy Pickelhaube helm. The boy looked at us, asked the sentry a question and began to cry. Then for a moment he straightened himself, held out his sword, and began in the thinnest of squeaky trebles to whine "The Watch on the Rhine." After the martial chanting through



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WAR-DESOLATED LOUVAIN AS THE GERMANS LEFT IT, SHOWING THE FAMOUS HOTEL DE VILLE

the black of the past night, it seemed a whimsical imp's mockery. So we were sung out of Germany.

### The Burning of Louvain

For two hours Richard Harding Davis was in what "for six hundred years had been the city of Louvain" when the Germans were burning it. All the newspaper men were locked in railroad carriages. But the story was "written against the sky" and it could be "read in the faces of women and children being led to concentration camps and of citizens on their way to be shot." In the *New York Tribune*, Mr. Davis recalls the claims of Louvain to the respect and love of the admirer of art and history, and says that "with the German system and love of thoroughness, they left Louvain an empty and blackened shell.

Money can never restore Louvain. Great architects and artists, dead these six hundred years, made it beautiful, and their handiwork belonged to the world. With torch and dynamite the Germans have turned these masterpieces into ashes, and all the Kaiser's horses and all his men cannot bring them back again. . . .

In each building, so German soldiers told me, they began at the first floor, and when that was burning steadily passed to the one next. There were no exceptions,—whether it was a store, chapel, or private residence it was destroyed. The occupants had been warned to go, and in each deserted shop or house the furniture was piled, the torch was stuck under it, and into the air went the savings of years, souvenirs of children, of

parents, heirlooms that had passed from generation to generation.

The people had time only to fill a pillowcase and fly. Some were not so fortunate, and by thousands, like flocks of sheep, they were rounded up and marched through the night to concentration camps. We were not allowed to speak to any citizen of Louvain, but the Germans crowded the windows, boastful, gloating, eager to interpret.

At Louvain it was war upon the defenseless, war upon churches, colleges, shops of milliners and lacemakers; war brought to the bedside and the fireside; against women harvesting in the fields, against children in wooden shoes at play in the streets.

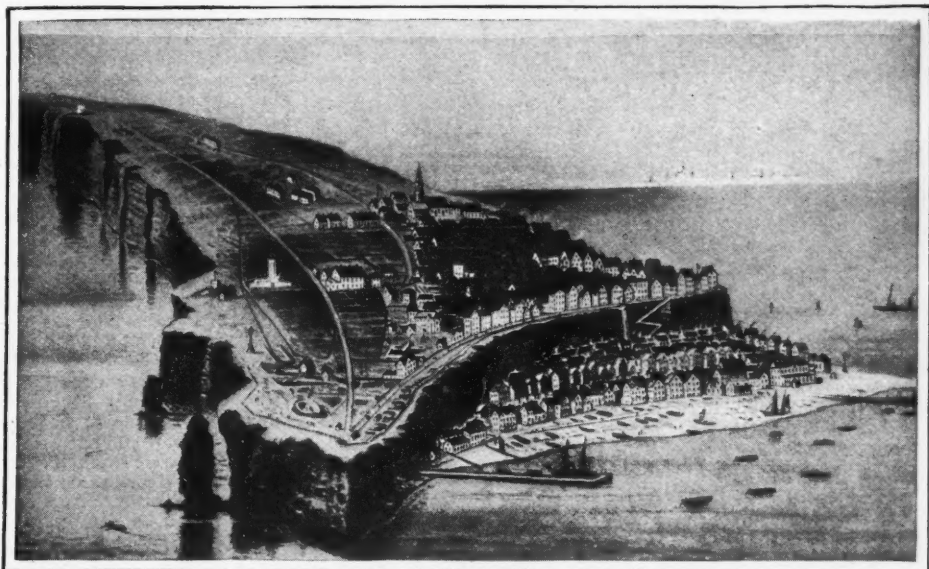
At Louvain that night the Germans were like men after an orgy.

You could tell when an officer passed by the electric torch he carried strapped to his chest. In the darkness the gray uniforms filled the station with an army of ghosts. You distinguished men only when pipes hanging from their teeth glowed red or their bayonets flashed.

Outside the station in the public square the people of Louvain passed in an unending procession, women bareheaded, weeping, men carrying the children asleep on their shoulders, all hemmed in by the shadowy army of gray wolves. Once they were halted, and among them were marched a line of men. They well knew their fellow townsmen. They were on their way to be shot. And better to point the moral an officer halted both processions and, climbing to a cart, explained why the men were to die. He warned others not to bring down upon themselves a like vengeance.

### The Battle of Heligoland Bight

While the detailed story of the biggest battle on the sea, that off Heligoland, on



THE ODD-SHAPED ISLAND OF HELIGOLAND, GERMANY'S "THRESHOLD FORTRESS" IN THE NORTH SEA  
(Heligoland was ceded by England to Germany in 1890)

August 28, has probably yet to be written, some very graphic accounts by private individuals have already appeared. An American returning from London expresses the most unbounded admiration of the British Government's control of the press. Speaking of the departure of the British fleet after war was declared, he says, after marveling at the celerity with which naval orders were carried out:

At 11:19 o'clock on the night of August 4, there were 317 wireless messages sent to as many ships from the Admiralty Office. The message to all was the same, and read as follows: "Go."

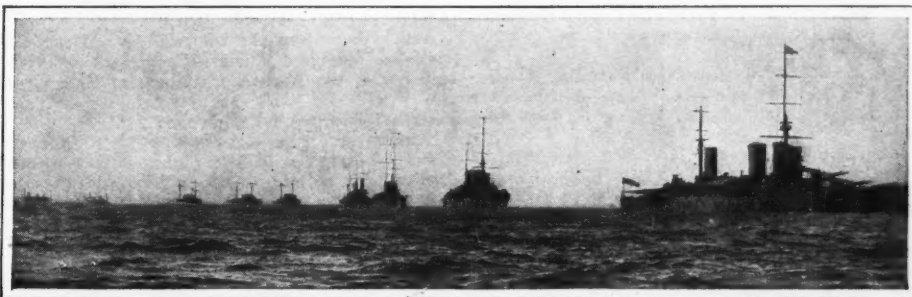
Within nine minutes there were 317 replies, the single word: "Off."

The first naval action, that in the North Sea, is described in the *New York World* by "one who took part in it." Of the entrance into the action, this writer says:

Have you ever noticed a dog rush in on a flock of sheep and scatter them? He goes for the nearest and barks, and goes so much faster than the flock that it bunches up with its companions. The dog then barks at another, and the sheep spread out fan-wise. So all around in front of the dog there is a semi-circle of sheep, and behind him none. That was much what we did at 7 A. M. on the 28th. The sheep were the German torpedo craft, who fell back just on the limits of the range and tried to lure us within the fire of the Heligoland forts; but a cruiser came out and engaged our *Arethusa*. They had a real heart-to-heart talk while we looked on, and a few of us tried to shoot at the enemy, too, though it was beyond our distance.

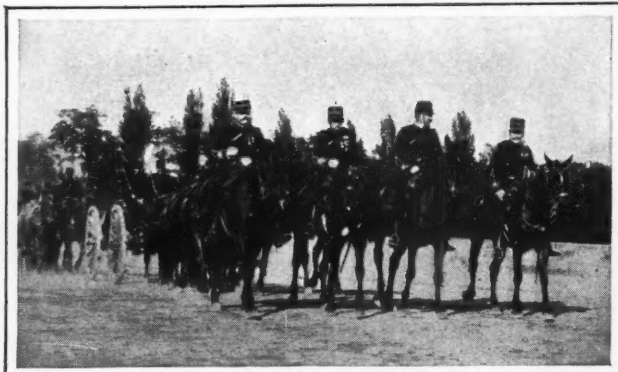
The *Mainz*, says this observer, was "immensely gallant."

The last I saw of this German cruiser, absolutely wrecked alow and aloft, her whole midships a fuming inferno, she had one gun forward and one aft still spitting forth fury and defiance like a wildcat mad with wounds.



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

DREADNOUGHTS OF THE BRITISH FLEET ASSEMBLING AT SPITHEAD



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#### THE FAMOUS FRENCH ARTILLERY ON THE MARCH

When the *Mainz* had sunk a real Jules Verne rescue was achieved.

The *Defender*, having sunk an enemy, lowered a whaler to pick up her swimming survivors. Before the whaler got back an enemy's cruiser came up and chased the *Defender*, and thus she abandoned her whaler. Imagine their feelings, alone in an open boat, without food, twenty-five miles from the nearest land, and that land the enemy's fortress, with nothing but fog and foes around them. Suddenly a swirl alongside, and up, if you please, pops His Britannic Majesty's submarine *E-4*, opens his conning-tower, takes them all on board, shuts up again, dives, and brings them home, 250 miles. Is not that magnificent? No novel would dare face the critics with an episode like that to it, except perhaps Jules Verne's; and all true.

#### The Dramatic Horrors of the Allied Retreat

Some of the most brilliant war reports have come from the pen of Philip Gibbs, who represents the London *Daily Chronicle* and the New York *Times*. Speaking of the terrible ordeal of the Allies' retreat before the Germans, almost to the very gates of Paris, this writer says:

In justice to the Germans it must be said they were heroic in courage and reckless of their lives, and the valley of the Meuse was choked with their corpses. The river itself was strewn with the dead bodies of men and horses and literally ran red with blood. . . .

Down the road came suddenly parties of peasants with fear in their eyes. Some of them were in farm carts and put their horses to a stumbling gallop.

Women with blanched faces, carrying children in their arms, trudged along the dusty highway, and it was clear that these people were afraid of something behind them. There were not many of them, and when they had passed the countryside was strangely and uncannily quiet. There was only the sound of singing birds above fields which were flooded with the golden light of the setting sun.

Then I came into the town. An intense silence brooded there among the narrow little

streets below the old Norman church,—a white jewel on the rising ground beyond. Almost every house was shuttered with blind eyes; but here and there I looked through an open window into deserted rooms. No human face returned my gaze. It was an abandoned town, emptied of all its people, who had fled with fear in their eyes, like those peasants along the roadway.

But presently I saw a human form; it was the figure of a French dragoon, with his carbine slung behind his back. He was stopping by the side of a number of gunpowder bags. A little farther away were little groups of soldiers at work by two bridges, one over a stream

and one over a road. They were working very calmly and I could see what they were doing; they were mining bridges to blow them up at a given signal.

#### How a Kansas Photographer Held Up a German Army Corps

A graphic description of how one diminutive Kansas photographer held up the Ninth Imperial German Army Corps to "take its picture" is given by Mr. E. Alexander Powell, who has been sending some very readable stories from Belgium to the New York *World*. Mr. Powell had asked the German general if Thompson might photograph the army in passing.

Five minutes later Thompson whirled away in a military motor-car ciceroned by an officer who attended the army school at Fort Riley, Kansas.

They stopped the car beside the road, in a place where the light was good, and when Thompson saw approaching a regiment or battery of which he wished a picture he would tell the officer, whereupon the officer would blow a whistle and the whole column would halt.

"Just wait a few minutes until the dust settles," Thompson would remark, and the Ninth Imperial Army Corps, whose columns stretched over the countryside as far as the eye could see, would stand in its tracks until the air was sufficiently clear to get a picture.

Thus far the only one who has succeeded in halting the German army is this little photographer from Kansas.

A field battery of the Imperial Guard rumbled past and Thompson made some remark about the accuracy of the American gunners at Vera Cruz.

"Let us show you what our gunners can do," said the officer, and he gave an order.

There were more orders,—a perfect volley of them. A bugle shrilled, eight horses strained against their collars, drivers cracked their whips, and a gun left the road and swung into position in an adjacent field.

On a knoll three miles away an ancient windmill was beating the air with its huge wings. A shell hit the windmill and tore it into splinters.

"Good work," Thompson observed critically. "If those fellows of yours keep on they'll be able to get a job in the American navy after the war."



# THE STRUGGLE FOR WORLD PEACE

## GERMAN "INTELLECTUALS" ON MILITARISM

WHAT do the advanced German thinkers, the men of letters and of science, think of militarism? To this we are fortunate enough to find an answer in an article written recently by one of the most prominent literary men of Munich, Wilhelm Herzog, for the leading editorial of the first number of *Die Forum*, a newly established German monthly review published in Munich.

The article, entitled "War," is an amazingly bitter arraignment of militarism and an impassioned denunciation of the professional war agitators who foster it. Written before the outbreak of the present hostilities, it reads like an inspired prophecy. This writer asks pointedly of his countrymen:

When shall we be able to replace the futile activities of the liberal apostles of peace by an active progressive movement of all the men of brains, who, in unison with the thousands of battalions of the working classes must form the phalanx which shall forefend (vorbeugen) the madness of the possible outbreak of war in Central Europe? Nobel's peace prizes are allotted, congresses of peace are held, palaces of peace are erected with pomp and hypocrisy. There stand the palaces! and yet any day a war may break out in any corner of Europe. Helplessly we shall be forced to look on murder, or even share in it.

Even the author of this Cassandra-like prophecy could hardly have anticipated how soon and with what dreadful suddenness his vision of horror would be realized. At this point in his article he pauses to quote a significant passage from Prince von Bülow's book on "German Politics," a passage which, though written to admonish the German cultivated classes of their duty to the state, is perhaps even more cogent in its appeal to those of America. Speaking of German political life the Prince says:

We still have in Germany a very large number of cultivated men who avoid participation in party affairs, to whom political life is a matter of indifference if not actually repellent. . . . An active taking part in the course of political busi-

ness, that is what we Germans lack,—an interest which is not roused merely at election times, but concerns itself steadily with the questions large or small of the political life of the state. It should be the business of the men of brains and cultivation to take this political education in hand. It is the cause of the intellectual leaders whom no people follows so willingly as does the German race. That lax indifference of intellectually and esthetically sensitive natures towards political life, which formerly may have been harmless enough, is now quite out of place.

Commenting briefly on this, Mr. Herzog goes a step further, saying:

Let us at last make trial of Karl Marx's stormy imperative, which has inflamed millions of



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### THE MOLOCH OF MILITARISM

(As originally published in *Lustige Blätter*, of Berlin, this cartoon was inspired by the Zabern affair and bore the caption, "What civilization was forty years in building he tramples under foot in fourteen days.")

proletarian brains, let us turn to the gigantic party of the Intellectuals with a cry that may kindle their spirits like that of Communist Manifesto: "Intellectuals of all the countries, unite yourselves!" You have the Power whenever you find the Will. Organize yourselves. Call a congress of the brainworkers of every land. . . . All good Europeans would come: Anatole France, Octave Mirabeau, Romain Rolland, Bernard Shaw, Chesterton, Wedekind, Hauptmann, Heinrich and Thomas Mann, Rainer Maria Rilke, Andrejew, Gorki, Rodin, Liebermann, Simmel, Brentano, Mereschkowski, and many young, ardent brains, who,—as artists or savants,—know no national bounds, no racial interests, to whom righteousness means more than justice, and to whom the intellect, art, and the sciences stand higher than that vague something-or-other, which to-day is termed patriotism. These leaders of the brainworkers would have but one aim: by power of the numbers of their names to destroy medieval prescriptions and institutions; to drive out the despots of imperial greed, in order to leave the path free, not for a general celebration of brotherly feeling, but for the axiomatic idea that in our era there is no longer any place for war; that we have more important and more fruitful affairs to engage us; that the struggles which will come may be gladly fought out without guns and arms; that we are in the world, not to fire bullets into the bodies of people who have done us no harm, but in order to lessen mutually the necessities and banalities of life,—by a song, by a good word, by a beautiful picture,—or by what is of far more value, by humanity.

Herr Herzog closes this glowing appeal to reason, which derives an added interest from the fact that it would doubtless have never seen the light had the present rigid rules of censorship been in force,—late dispatches tell us that any criticism of government measures subjects the critic to immediate court-martial, with possible death as the punish-

ment!—with these bold and eloquent words:

We will fight, we will conquer or perish, we will sound the gamut of human joys and sufferings, but we will not let ourselves be mowed down by senseless machine guns. And because we know how arbitrarily, how casually, how senselessly, war may arise to-day as it has in the past, we will erect an Areopagus of the Intellectuals. The ruling powers will at first regard its judgments with the contempt of the technician for the amateur. Nevertheless its voice, the voice of Reason, will be heard of all the people, it must be heard, though the despots turn deaf ears to it, and it will,—O blessed Utopia,—penetrate and conquer.

### The View of Two German Scientists

On the other side, a bitter statement by Rudolf Eucken and Ernst Haeckel, the two leading philosophical writers of Germany, arraigns England for her "moral injustice and baseness." They say:

What is taking place to-day will be forever pointed at in the annals of world history as England's indelible shame. England fights in behalf of a Slavic, half-Asiatic, power against Germanism; she fights on the side not only of barbarism but also of moral injustice, for it is indeed not forgotten that Russia began the war because she would permit no radical reparation for a shameful murder.

It is England whose fault has extended the present war into a world war, and has thereby endangered our joint culture. And all this for what reason? Because she was jealous of Germany's greatness, because she wanted to hinder at any price a further growth of this greatness. For there cannot be the least doubt on this point that England was determined in advance to cast as many obstacles as possible in the way of Germany's existence in this struggle of the giants, and to hinder her as much as possible in the full development of her powers.

## A WORLD STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

THAT some men are not heart-broken by the great war and still see the possibility of universal peace is shown by a brief article by the German-Austrian dramatist, Frank Wedekind, in the *Forum* (Munich), in which he gives the following masterly analysis of certain aspects of humanity's spiritual evolution:

Before the outbreak of the Reformation, the total number of men living in all the cloisters of Europe was approximately the same as those living in barracks some thirty years ago. The medieval state was not a political state, but a clerical state. The absolute power was held by the church. The necessity for the rise of the church is obviously found in the decline of the Roman Empire, which lasted for four hundred years. . . . For four hundred years every cultivated man, every one who possessed even a glimmer of the ancient culture,

had to spend his whole life haunted by the ineradicable conviction of inevitable decay and hopeless destruction. This fact alone clearly explains why the absolute and dependable value of life had to be sought, found and established as sacrosanct, in existence in another world. Accordingly, the laws by which men lived were promulgated, not by the state, but by the church. The church stood back of marriage, family, schools, the care of the sick and of the poor. The church was the standard-bearer of culture in at least as high a degree as is the state to-day. The Reformation represents the turning point at which the medieval clerical state was supplanted by the modern political state just as a thousand years before the Roman World Empire had been supplanted by the empire of the church.

At this turning point, marked by the Reformation, Dr. Wedekind finds that two powerful emotions which were active factors

in the spiritual life of the ancients, but were practically unknown in medieval centuries, are re-awakened. These are freedom of thought and national feeling.

This national consciousness has been steadily increasing now for half a thousand years, and parallel with its growth has been that of militarism. Just as the clergy of the medieval state made use of Hell and Purgatory as threats to enforce their rules for the conduct of life, present day militarism makes use of . . . the coming world war.<sup>1</sup> It is not beyond the realm of possibilities that there should exist between the military authorities of the various civilized nations, which regard each other with hostility, an unconscious and unuttered agreement that the timid and unarmed citizens should be periodically frightened by the rattling of sabers into voting supplies for the support of the armies.

Mr. Wedekind declares, furthermore, that military force is now at its zenith, exactly as was clerical power on the eve of the Reformation, and he adds these cheering words:

Just as at that time freedom of thought arrayed itself against the church, so now an international consciousness of common humanity and the awakening sense of solidarity among civilized peoples are arraying themselves against military domination. And in the struggle of to-day wit and satire are the strongest weapons in the field just as they were in the struggle five hundred years ago. Wit and satire, however, produce their strongest effect when they are not products of the imagination of partisan writers, but spring directly from actual occurrences, as in certain phases of the Dreyfus Process and of the "Koepenickiad." . . . The Reformation movement embraced a period of more than a hundred years, while the peace movement was started barely two decades since. And for that reason we must have more than a little patience.

### The Role of Violence in the Conflict of Modern Life

With a keen understanding of the significance of individual and collective action, the well-known pacifist, R. Broda, compares odious and brutal war to the odious and brutal lynch law, and affirms that peoples, no more than individuals, have the right to mete out justice themselves. M. Broda has compiled a sort of consensus of opinion on the subject of all acts of violence, gathered from eminent and distinguished thinkers of many nationalities, in collaboration with such men as Descamps, Fernand Mazade, I. de Polako, the valiant editor of the "Documents du Progress."

Almost all the master minds appealed to are agreed in their condemnation of the lynch

law as applied to nations, which is war, and are opposed to all manifestations of violence, including revolutions, strikes, and duels. M. Ferdinand Buisson's opinion is noteworthy. He says:

International arbitration, government by universal suffrage, and a collective contract system, sanctioned and guaranteed (by society?), are the three modes of resistance that will be substituted for those of strikes, revolutions and wars.

Among others who are quoted are Dr. Sakunoshin Motoda, of Tokio, Dr. Charles Richet, the Margueritte brothers, and Paul Hyacinthe Loyson, editor of the *Droits de l'Homme* (The Rights of Man). All the opinions recorded give evidence of a noble endeavor towards the diffusing the humanitarian ideal and a splendid defense of the true and the good. M. Broda's work, says the editor of *La Revue*, in commenting, awakens the hope of a better future,—of the day when violence will cease to be the mistress of the destiny of the helpless.

### Armaments Cannot Preserve Peace

One of the most far-reaching effects of the war, thinks Dr. Eliot, ex-president of Harvard University, (we quote from his letter to the *New York Times*) will be the

conviction it carries to the minds of thinking people that the whole process of competitive armaments, the enlistment of the entire male population in national armies, and the incessant planning of campaigns against neighbors, is not a trustworthy method for preserving peace. It now appears that the military preparations of the last fifty years in Europe have resulted in the most terrific war of all time, and that a fierce ultimate outbreak is the only probable result of the system. For the future of civilization this is a lesson of high value. It teaches that if modern civilization is to be preserved, national executives—whether imperial or republican—must not have at their disposal immense armaments and drilled armies held ready in the leash; that armaments must be limited, an international Supreme Court established, national armies changed to the Swiss form, and an international force adequate to deal with any nation that may suddenly become lawless agreed upon by treaty and held always in readiness. The occasional use of force will continue to be necessary even in the civilized world; but it must be made not an aggressive, but a protective force and used as such—just as protective force as has to be used sometimes in families, schools, cities, and commonwealths.

At present, Americans do not close their eyes to the plain fact that the brute force which Germany and Austria-Hungary are now using can only be overcome by brute force of the same sort in larger measure. It is only when negotiations for peace begin that the great lesson of the futility of huge preparations for fighting to preserve peace can be given effect.

<sup>1</sup> This article appeared before the "World War" had actually engulfed Europe.



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THE WOMAN'S PEACE PARADE IN NEW YORK ON AUGUST 29

## THE WAR AND CONSCIENCE

THE reviews of Great Britain and the continent,—such as had come to American notice up to the middle of last month,—were, as was to be expected, given over almost entirely to articles on the war situation. It was evident, however, from the character of these articles, that most of the magazines had been prepared in more or less haste, and that the articles, in the main, were those struck off in the first hectic flush of nationalism. From a few of the more mature articles we are quoting in this department.

The *Contemporary* for September is a war number. The subjects of most of the articles, however, have already been treated in other ways in the pages of this magazine. One article is especially worthy of note. It is entitled "The War and Conscience," and is by the Right Rev. Edward Winton, Lord Bishop of Winchester.

It is a typically English article, with that constant harking back to the national conscience which characterizes the writing of Englishmen on national or international topics, whether they be laymen or clerics. Bishop Winton points out that something was wrong with the world, and it may be that the war will precipitate a settlement.

It all seems half natural, as if we had been expecting it, as if something of the sort had to be, as if we could not have gone on as we were, and yet could not have found our way out, as if we were ready for a move onward which had to be made for us and not by us. . . . We saw no way to settle our controversies. The problems

of freedom and justice in Ireland, of women's claims, of the demand of labor for an increased share in the results of industry and for a more organized influence in the life of the community,—it was the same with them all; there was a sense of deadlock. Nor, as all are agreed, was there anything like a due concentration of energy and interest on our most urgent problems in urban and country life, the health of our people, their housing and the brightening and ennobling of their lives. Much was done and being done; but yet there was a sense of impotence.

It was the same way, perhaps, continues Bishop Winton, on the larger scale of international affairs.

The Concert of Europe just kept things going, and tided over critical moments, but we seemed to live in a prolonged "interim"; and there was no sense of steady movement towards something better. It was pitiful, too, to see how powerless, as in the Congo case, the European governments were for any vigorous action in favor of liberty and true civilization. Something of the same sort was felt in the religious sphere. Unrivalled missionary opportunities were offered to us in the Far East; they were recognized and estimated, but we showed little power to take them up. Besides, for those who have been trained to lay primary stress on moral causes and conditions, there was ground for deep uneasiness. The word materialism (understood by our fathers as the name of a philosophical theory) was constantly confronting ourselves as an obvious label for many tendencies in our civilization. Economically, socially and politically, gold and iron, wealth and force, have had far more than their due. The luxury of those who "could afford it" and the passionate pleasure-seeking throughout our people were constantly confessed and continually increased. Vast sums were indeed spent in charity,



but it was hard to see signs, except among the poor, of their being raised by frugality or sacrifice.

While it is impossible to see the end of what is happening to European civilization through the onslaught of armaments, it seems to this devout churchman that the world should steady itself with the remembrance that "catastrophe has been historically one of the means in the hands of Providence for growth." Surely, he says, Europe can never return to that condition in which it has lived for these last decades: "A condition infinitely comic if it were not so desperately serious

and wrong." The condition of universal armament, he insists, must give place to some better way of living together. "Its crushing load upon life and welfare must be removed or lightened." Europe, particularly Britain, he says, must experience "a genuine revival of the higher moral faiths."

We are so afraid of cant that we have been almost afraid to speak of principles. But this is really moral cowardice and stubbornness. The great laws of righteousness, justice and humanity are there: they work, not in the same way, but as surely as the laws of physical nature. We must read the lessons as they write themselves out in history.

## WHY DOES ENGLAND FIGHT?

THE question has many times been asked since the outbreak of the European war: What are the nations fighting for? We have all heard, again and again, the German contention that the Fatherland is fighting for self-preservation. Austria attacked Serbia to uphold her national dignity. Russia claims that Slavdom must be protected and extended. France and Belgium, it is easy to perceive, are protecting themselves against invasion. But what, ask the Germans, are the English fighting for? Many Englishmen have asked the same question. The complaints of Rudyard Kipling fill the air, and H. G. Wells's cogently expressed reasons were set forth in these pages last month. A clear, straightforward answer to the question: What are Britons fighting for? appears in the *London Spectator*, which claims to speak for "every Englishman who thinks":

We are fighting against the determination of the ruling military caste in Germany, first, to have their tyranny at home still more firmly established by a foreign war, and next, to make Germany the dominant power of the world—dominant as was Louis XIV in the height of his glory and as was Napoleon for the twelve years between 1800 and the failure of the Moscow campaign. The aims of the German military caste, of which the Emperor and the Hohenzollerns are the willing instruments, are exactly the aim of Napoleon. Their methods of realizing those aims by a "ruthless, relentless and remorseless" war, which shall arouse the sense of terror and overwhelm all opposition, are also the same.

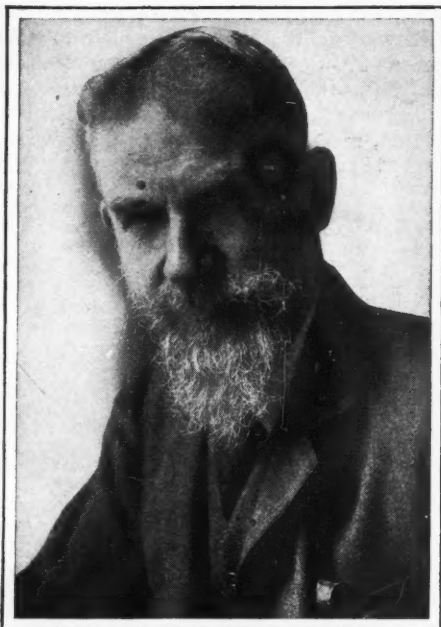
Are the victors to gain anything, materially or morally? To this question the editor of the *Spectator* replies:

That depends upon who is victorious. The Germans no doubt think—though here we believe they are mistaken—that if they are victorious

they are going to obtain great material prosperity by seizing the colonies of their opponents and by the infliction of huge indemnities. If eight millions is the indemnity for one comparatively small city like Brussels, what would be the indemnity for Belgium, and what the indemnity for France or for Britain? To say what they would gain morally is somewhat difficult. If we were to ask some German professor of philosophy or history at a state university, such professor, if he cared to tell the truth, would say that they were going to impose German culture—the true culture—on the rest of the world, to take the scepter of the seas too long held by an effete nation like the British, and, further, to put an end to the arrogance of a decadent France. From their point of view, no doubt, the Germans would esteem that a great moral gain. Germany would have her place in the sun, and have gained intellectually and morally as well as economically. If we, and not the Germans and the Austrians, are the victors, how is the question to be answered? That we shall gain nothing material we fully agree. Our material loss must be enormous whichever way the balance inclines. But what are we to say as to the moral loss or gain? The answer is plain to any man who will put the question to himself honestly, and not with a mind drugged by an inverted sense of patriotism. The whole world will gain by our victory, for it will be a victory for individual freedom, the government of the people by the people for the people, for national independence as against servile and dependent States, and defeat for a monopolizing and despotic military caste. If we lose, human liberty and national independence will go down for a generation at least in blood and thunder, perhaps go down never to revive again.

Finally, in reply to the reproach that Britain should not work with "barbarous Russia," the *Spectator* has this to say:

If Russia shows the same desire to dominate that Germany has shown and develops an arrogant military caste, we must restrain Russia also. But surely he must see that the chances of Russia doing this are not increased but greatly reduced by alliance with the democracies of France and



"G. B. S."—GEORGE BERNARD SHAW—WHO SCORES ENGLAND FOR NOT PREVENTING WAR

Britain. States, like men, are known by the company they keep. Germany keeps company with Austria, an empire more feeble, but none the less arrogant and domineering, than her own. Russia is linked to two democratic self-governing nations. Her alliance with France and Britain will make it very difficult for her, if she ever desires, of which we do not admit the possibility, to break her word to Poland, to the Finns, and to the Jews. The notion that Russia is as great a menace to liberty as Germany is a mere piece of special pleading put into the minds of Englishmen by German writers and speakers. There may be great faults in the Russian Government, but at any rate it is not organized with that dreadful mechanical harshness and efficiency which have made every independent state in Europe dread a German victory, as every independent state in Europe dreaded the victory of Napoleon.

#### England's Responsibility According to "G. B. S."

With his usual epigrammatic brilliance, George Bernard Shaw indicts England for faint-heartedness and bowing the knee to capitalism. She might have warded off this war, says G. B. S. in an article in the *London Daily News*, if the Asquith Government had only had a "real modern foreign policy." England might have said to Prussian militarism:

If you attempt to smash France, we two will smash you if we can. We have had enough of the Germany of Bismarck, which all the world loathes, and we will see whether we cannot re-

vive the Germany of Goethe and Beethoven, which has not an enemy on earth. But if you will drop your mailed fist nonsense and be neighborly, we will guarantee you against Russia just as heartily as we now guarantee France against you.

Can it be doubted, asks "G. B. S.," that if this had been said resolutely and with the vigorous support of all sections of the House, "Potsdam would have thought twice and thrice before declaring war?"

Can it be alleged that anything could have happened worse than has happened? Instead of offering Germany a way out, we drove her to desperation; all because it was not safe to talk frankly to the Labor party and the old Liberals about foreign affairs.

#### The Foreign Policy of Capitalism and of Socialism

The difference between the foreign policy of Socialism and the foreign policy of capital is very simple, according to "G. B. S."

Capital sends the flags at the heels of commercial speculation for profit. Socialism would keep the flag at the head of civilization. Capital, badly wanted at home, is sent abroad after cheap labor into undeveloped countries; and the financiers use the control of our army and fleet, which they obtain through their control of Parliament solely to guard their unpatrician investments. That is the root of the present mischief. France, instead of using her surplus income in abolishing French slums and building up French children into strong men and women, has lent it to Russia to strengthen the most tyrannical government in Europe; and to secure the interest of her loan she has entered into an unnatural alliance with Russia against her more civilized neighbors.

We have no right to throw stones at France on this account; for we made an agreement with Russia, of a still more sordidly commercial character, for the exploitation of Persia with the capital that should have fed our starving children, and rebuilt Dundee and Glasgow, Dublin, Liverpool, and London as decent human habitations.

And now, mark the consequences. Germany, with a hostile France on one side, and a hostile Russia on the other, is in a position "so dangerous that we here in our secure island can form no conception of its intolerable tension."

We have never considered this, and never allowed for it. By our blindness to it we have brought about the war. We have deliberately added to the strain by making a military and naval anti-German alliance with France without at the same time balancing its effect by assuring Germany that if she kept peace with France we would not help Russia against her, nor in the last resource allow Russia to advance her frontier westward. . . . Our business now is first to convince Potsdam that it cannot trample down France, England, Belgium and Holland, and must pay reasonable damages for having tried to; and, second, to convince Russia that she must not take advantage of the lesson to subdue Germany.

## BELGIUM'S NEUTRALITY: OPPOSING VIEWS

THE justification offered by the German Government for violating the neutrality of Belgium is that it was military necessity. Seldom is the German entrance defended on any other score. Dr. Hermann Schoenfeld (of George Washington University), however, insists that both England and France had already violated this neutrality and that it would have been "absolute folly" for Germany to have hesitated to do likewise. Writing in the *Fatherland*, a weekly published in New York to influence American opinion in favor of Germany and Austria, Dr. Schoenfeld characterizes England's scruples with regard to Belgian neutrality as hypocritical and France's as worse. Belgium,—so this writer claims,—was founded as a neutral state "solely to save her from the cupidity of France." He summons history,—particularly Bismarck's "Letters,"—to his aid in proving this, and concludes:

Knowing history and knowing the hankering of France, for Belgium, the German Government in the extreme hour of necessity pleaded with Belgium for a right of way, vowing every possible compensation and security and territorial integrity, but the Belgian King and Government, with that blindness which so often dooms—as it were, through the powers of darkness—those who are ripe for a fall, preferred to throw their country into the arms of their worst enemies and destroyers. When the French statesman, Count Benedetti, promised Bismarck, "You shall find your Belgium somewhere else," he did not dream that the noble kingdom, which was industrially, culturally, and politically one of the most advanced and progressive states in Europe, would be hurled by its own demented rulers into the arms of France, its destroyer and plotter, even before it emerged from the womb of time. There lies the violation of Belgium neutrality, not in Germany's procedure, to whom she owed her independent existence, and who was eager and determined to guarantee it again and forever.

### A Difference on Points of History

A writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. Henri Welschinger, presumably himself a Belgian, does not agree with the history of the German professor just quoted. He insists that Belgian neutrality is due to the statesmanship and generosity of France. He says:

Let Belgium never forget that it is to France that she owes the prompt recognition of her independence by the other great European powers, and that France is ever ready to support her and to keep her from external attack and foreign intervention.

This promise, says M. Welschinger, France has kept and "present events seem to emphasize her firm intention of continuing to do so." As to Bismarck's relations to the situation, this writer says:

When France declared war against Prussia, on July 15, 1870, the wily Bismarck thought it an opportune moment to bring to light before Europe the project of a treaty dated 1866, drawn up by the Count of Benedetti, which was found among papers belonging to Rouher in the château of Cernay. This secret project, in which Article IV promised the help of the Prussian armies in case the Emperor (Napoleon III) should find it necessary to enter Belgium, or endeavored to conquer it, was but an imprudent draft, drawn up in answer to perfidious suggestions from the Iron Chancellor. He, with his usual craftiness, threw all the responsibility of the affair upon the Imperial Government which, according to him, had made all the advances. Bismarck, according to his own account, had only overheard a monologue, and, as he exhibited a facsimile of the document, Europe, without believing in his innocence, was willing to believe in the consuming ambition of Napoleon III. England sided with Prussia and it was one of the motives that decided the fatal League of Neutrals. On that occasion Earl Russell had said in the House of Lords, which shared his emotion: "It is impossible not to be anxious concerning the future when one sees, in 1866, the Prime Minister of Prussia and the Ambassador initiated into the thoughts of the Emperor of the French plotting to violate the treaty of 1831, trampling under foot public faith and endeavoring to destroy Belgian independence. . . . Our obligations toward that kingdom are sacred, separately as well as jointly with the other powers. . . .

We can choose but one road and that is the way which honor dictates. . . . We are bound to defend Belgium. The members of the English Government declare publicly and explicitly that they intend to respect their treaties and to loyally fulfil all their obligations, that the name of England may not be dishonored. . . . The Duke of Gramont and Benedetti, in great embarrassment, tried to deny the purport of the vague treaty which Bismarck divulged, but the blow had struck. True, Napoleon had written to King Leopold before the declaration of war against Prussia, promising to respect Belgian neutrality, hoping that Prussia might do as much. London, however, thought it wiser to make the situation perfectly clear and threatened to use all its military and naval force to assure that neutrality if any one attempted to violate it. On December 20, 1870, Leopold II congratulated Emperor William I upon his elevation to the empire, hoping that this event might reestablish the "order of right" in Europe. . . . The Crown Prince Frederic Wilhelm wrote in his journal concerning the above letter: "Bismarck expresses much gratitude to King Leopold for his letter, and wishes me to point out to His Majesty the great guarantee that Belgium has in a strong, powerful Germany from which she has nothing to fear . . . nor from

France, for that matter, so long as Germany continues strong and powerful."

In the face of the present happenings, concludes M. Welschinger, the above declara-

tion assumes "a truly ironical form . . . for this same strong, conscientious Germany has not hesitated to violate Belgian territory."

## THE REASONS FOR ITALY'S POSITION

THE sentimental, economic, and political objections to Italy's following the fortunes of the Triple Alliance have been "virtually insuperable."

A long article explaining, from the historical standpoint, why these objections exist, is contributed to the current *Atlantic Monthly*, by Mr. George B. McClellan, former Mayor of New York City. Mr. McClellan has been a close student of Italian history for many years, and has brought out a book on Venice during its dominance of the Adriatic. He quotes the words of d'Azzeglio: "We have made an Italy; it now behooves us to make Italians." This has been the task of the Government at Rome, he reminds us, since 1870. He sketches the career of Giolitti, whom he calls one of the greatest of Italy's statesmen, and then proceeds to set forth the problem before the present Premier, Signor Salandra, and his ministry. This, he tells us, was twofold: The duty of Italy to her allies, and her duty to herself. As to the first he remarks that it was of comparatively easy solution.

Neither Germany nor Austria-Hungary had been attacked; in fact, they had deliberately and in cold blood brought on the war. Italy as a faithful ally was therefore left free either to join them or remain neutral; and for reasons that will presently appear she chose the latter course.

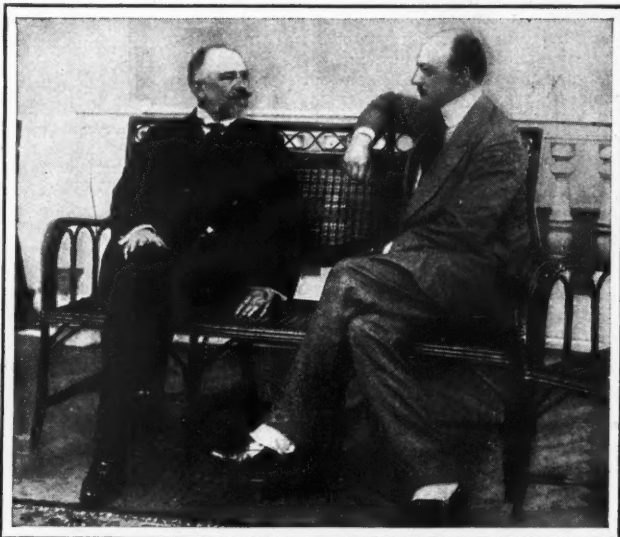
The objections to fighting the battles of the Triple Alliance were sentimental, economic, and political. While the alliance had flattered their pride, it had never been popular with the Italians. The Italians dislike and distrust Austria.

Every Italian believes that the Trentino and Trieste ought to belong to Italy. The spirit of nationality will not down, and so long as the Austrian Italians call to their brothers across the border to come and deliver them from the Aus-

trian yoke, the spirit of *Italia Irredenta* will dictate the reply. Were the matter to be left to a vote of the Italian people, they would far rather march against Austria for the liberation of their brothers than with Austria for the conquest of the world.

But they have a traditional love for France and a great admiration for England. Moreover,

The Italian proletariat has other fish to fry than foreign conquests. It is engaged in the effort to overthrow the existing form of government at home, peacefully if possible, forcibly if necessary. It has no sympathy with either the desires of the Hapsburgs or the ambitions of the Hohenzollerns, regarding both as the natural enemies of laboring men in general and of Italians in particular. The only inducement which would cause them to throw their influence on the side of the war, would be some strong appeal to their passions or imaginations. They generally supported the war with Turkey, while it lasted, as they were inspired by the hope of a renewal of Italian world-wide power. When Tripoli had been conquered and the proletariat discovered that they were no nearer greatness than before, they forgot their disillusionment and the hope of foreign conquest, and once more turned their thoughts



ITALY AND AUSTRIA IN CONFERENCE

(The Marquis di San Gaudenzo, Italian Foreign Minister, and Count Berchtold, Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, having a friendly chat before the war)



to the social revolution within the boundaries of their own country.

These are some of the advantages of neutrality to Italy:

Happily surrounded by sea on all sides but one, she is protected on the north by the natural barrier of the Alps, reinforced by the buffer neutral state of Switzerland between Germany and a part of Austria and herself. On the northwest she touches southeastern France, and on the northeast, southwestern Austria,—in both cases belligerent territory, it is true, but far removed from the scene of war. None of the belligerents wants her sword thrown in the scale against it, while all know that, failing her active support, her neutrality is of vital importance. She is feared and courted by all, with nothing to lose and everything to gain by her neutrality.

Finally, says Mr. McClellan, while the advantages of neutrality were quite evident, the objections to war were also evident.

No government [at Rome] would have the slightest difficulty in carrying with it the vast majority of the Italian people in a war against Austria in defense of the Italians of Trieste or the Trentino, or against Germany in behalf of the Latins of France. But no government would find it possible to unite the country in a war of aggression against nations of the Latin race, or to count on the support of the Italian masses in any war, unless their sympathies or passions were aroused. There can be no question but that Signor Salandra realized that a declaration of war against Russia or France would have been a signal for a general strike in Italy, which might have resulted in the fall of the dynasty.



A GLIMPSE OF ITALY'S MOBILIZATION  
(Soldiers going to the Austro-Italian border)

## LABOR'S INTERNATIONALISM

**I**N disappointment which is not concealed the *London Times*, in an editorial on the war, asks:

Where are the Socialists of Germany, France, Belgium, and Britain now that the artificial conflict, which they with other parties and factions represent, are tested by the touch of a real one? For fifty years we have been told that the united voice of the "workers" will forbid war, and strenuous efforts have been made to put some substance into the promise. A universal strike on the advent or approach of war has been proposed and much discussed as an effectual means of frustrating it.

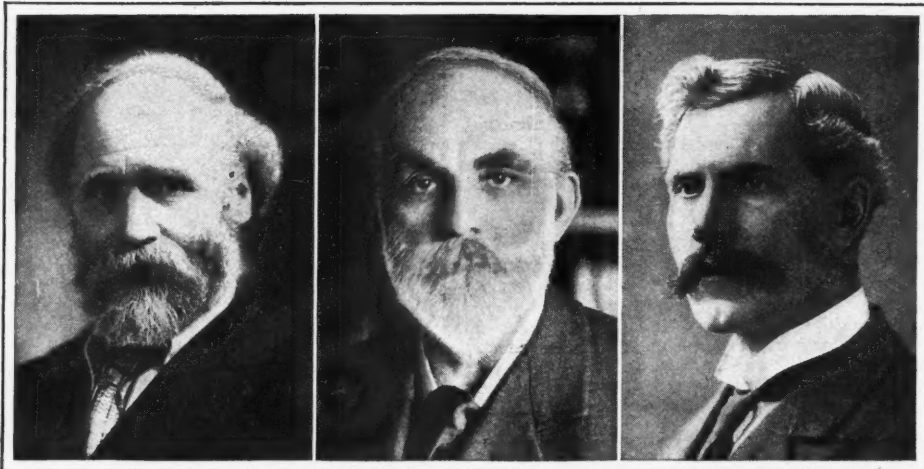
Commenting on this, Prof. Graham Taylor, in an article in the *Survey*, which gives the result of his impressions in Europe during the first fortnight of the war, says:

The Socialists must be surprised, as all other divided groups are, at the amazing spectacle of this fratricidal strife. German Social Democrats in one army are fighting the Socialists of France, Belgium, and England in the army of the Allies. . . . However, it is only fair to remember that the same feeling arises at the sight of Christians in a life and death struggle against Christians, Protestants against Protestants, Catholics against

Catholics, and the Holy Orthodox against the Holy Orthodox in the same irrational struggle. . . . The onset of this war was too sudden and severe for anything to withstand. The German Socialists, indeed, proved to be no exception.

Dr. Taylor recounts the extraordinary things that have happened, to illustrate how the war has swept Socialists and Radicals off their feet. Socialist clubs and publications were suppressed in Germany; France's foremost Socialist leader, Jaures, was assassinated; the French Premier and two of his associates in the cabinet are pronounced Socialists; a scholarly Socialist leader of Belgium, Vandervelde, is a member of the Belgian ministry, and even Peter Kropotkin, the exiled Russian Radical, from his refuge in England, has declared his loyalty to Russia. There was a temporary split in the British parliamentary Labor party, while John Burns resigned from the cabinet, Ramsay MacDonald giving up his chairmanship.

The British laboring man's opposition to the war is voiced most vigorously in the *London Daily Herald*, edited by George



KEIR HARDIE

JOHN BURNS

RAMSAY MACDONALD

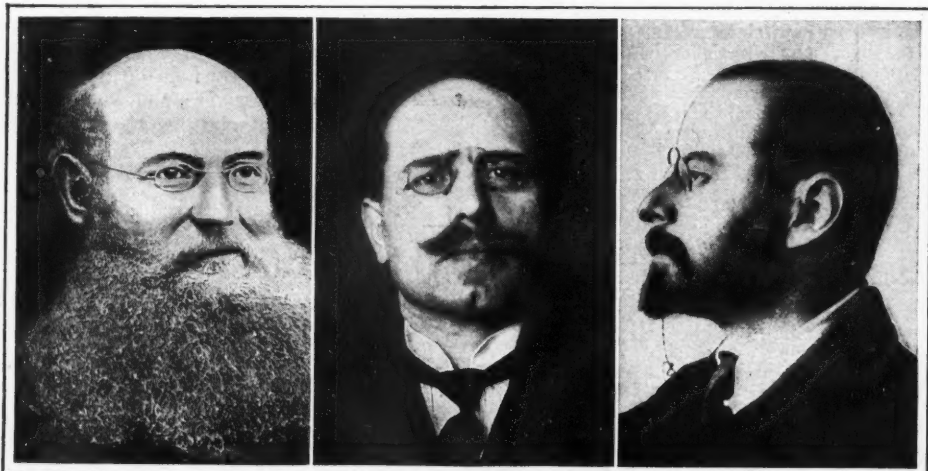
## ENGLISH LABOR LEADERS WHO HAVE OPPOSED WAR

Lansbury, who, it will be remembered, a year or so ago resigned from Parliament as a protest against the government's attitude towards woman suffrage. Mr. Lansbury has urged a general strike of transportation workers against the use of communications for war purposes.

If the protest against war is to be made effective, those workers who have in their power the control of transport and communication must refuse to allow them to be used for an end which will cause untold human suffering. They must strike against war. The labor leaders must act at once. There is given to the worker the opportunity to strike a blow at the very heart of the capitalist system. The weapon stands ready to the workers' hand. May they dare to be wise.

In an impressive editorial the *Daily Herald* applies William James's urgency of "a moral equivalent for war":

Cannot we still have an army, equipped not for death but for life? Cannot we fight, not each other, but our common foe—nature? Cannot we thus preserve in the inmost fiber of the people that morale we would not have stagnate? It is not difficult to find that moral equivalent. It lies in the creation of a civic sense. We must engender a hatred of the errors of our civilization, a hatred so bitter and compelling that men will not endure wrong because they would regard it as sin. We want to take that pride the soldier feels in the possession of his gun, that erect posture of body and soul which can be seen as the outcome of his training, and substitute for it a pride in the tools of labor, be they the miner's pick, the surgeon's knife, or the weaver's loom.



KROPOTKIN—RUSSIAN

LIEBKNECHT—GERMAN

VANDERVELDE—BELGIAN

## THREE CONTINENTAL SOCIALISTS WHO HAVE IN FORMER YEARS DENOUNCED WAR

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Meanwhile, says Dr. Taylor in conclusion:

At the call of their home lands, workers all over the world are laying down their tools to go back to their mother countries and take up arms to kill each other. Surely, for the time being at least, their "class-consciousness" is superseded by their national loyalty, and yet before this war is over, or as a result of it, national loyalty may be subordinated to the supremacy of race-consciousness

The *Englishwoman*, the most serious of the organs of the feminist movement in England, discusses the war situation in the same radical tone of race consciousness that characterizes Mr. Lansbury's utterances. In an editorial announcement, in the issue for September, the editors, who include Miss Frances Balfour, Miss Mary Lowndes, and other well-known British feminist names, inform us that the non-militant wing of the British suffrage workers,

recognizing that at the present moment the first aim of all British subjects must be to prosecute a just war to its appointed end, and to guard so far as is possible against the poverty, sickness,

and other evils which every war brings in its train, have decided to suspend for the present advocacy of the Enfranchisement of Women and to coöperate as far as may be in the general movement of women to play the part of citizens.

The militants had already announced a suspension of their warlike activities. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, the arch militant, in an address urging men to enlist, said:

We militants have gladly laid aside our particular quarrel, because on the safety of England rests our chance of ultimate success in the struggle. Were we subjects of Germany it would be many years before we could reach even our present position in the state.

"For the present," the editors of the *Englishwoman* announce, their magazine

will be used to give publicity, so far as lies in its power, to various schemes and methods of relief work, and will endeavor to represent the opinion of the large number of women who feel to the full the horrors of war, who ardently desire peace, but who yet would not buy it at the price of honor.

## POLAND COURTED BY HER PERSECUTORS

THE Polish question is becoming to-day the key to the entire European situation. The belligerents have been anxious to see which side the Poles will take. The aid of the Poles is equal, according to competent judges, to several army corps,—a powerful aid, when it is considered that Germany has on her eastern frontier only a very few corps of her army. To-day, therefore, the governments that partitioned the ancient Polish Republic are courting the Poles and are promising them freedom.

The Berlin *Morgen Post* of August 13 reproduces the proclamation of the commander-in-chief of the Austrian army to the Poles, calling upon them to give active support to the Austro-German forces, as Austria is bringing them "liberation from the Muscovite yoke." The London *Morning Post's* St. Petersburg correspondent says it is reported that Austria has nominated the Archduke Charles Stephen King of Poland. This Austrian Archduke is father-in-law of two Polish Princes, Radziwill and Czartoryski.

Germany also seeks Poland's aid. A proclamation scattered broadcast in Russian Poland by aeroplanes promised "the establishment of the ancient Polish kingdom" under a Hohenzollern of the Roman Catholic faith,

and asked the Poles to give a friendly reception to the German Emperor. All that favored the Russian cause were to be shot at sight. When the German army occupied Kalisz, in Russian Poland, the Poles took refuge in the cellars of their houses from their "liberators."

There remains the bid for the Poles' friendship to which the world attaches most importance,—the Russian bid. On August 15 Grand Duke Nicholas, commander-in-chief of the Russian army, issued two manifestoes to placate the Poles. The first, addressed to the army, said:

The Grand Duke Generalissimo desires every man under his command to understand clearly that the present war has been provoked by enemies of the Slavonic people. Therefore, the Russian armies must on no account do harm to people belonging to Slavonic nationality. Moreover, the loyalty of the Poles entitles them, whether inhabiting Russia, Germany, or Austria, to the utmost respect and consideration. No officer or soldier must under any circumstances do harm to the Poles, and anyone disobeying this command will be punished with the utmost severity.

The second proclamation, addressed to the Polish people, reads:

The hour has sounded when the sacred dream of your fathers may be realized. A hundred



CZAR NICHOLAS AND THE GRAND DUKE NICHOLAS NICHOLAEVITCH, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE RUSSIAN ARMIES

and fifty years ago the living body of Poland was torn to pieces, but her soul survived and she lived in hope that for the Polish people would come an hour of regeneration and reconciliation with Russia.

The Russian army brings you the solemn news of this reconciliation, which effaces the frontiers severing the Polish people, whom it unites conjointly under the scepter of the Czar of Russia. Under this scepter Poland will be born again, free in her religion, her language, and autonomous.

Russia expects from you only the loyalty to which history has bound you. With open heart and a brotherly hand extended, great Russia comes to meet you. She believes that the sword which struck her enemies at Grünwald is not yet rusted. Russia, from the shores of the Pacific Ocean to the North Sea, marches in arms. The dawn of a new life commences for you. In this glorious dawn is seen the sign of the Cross,—the symbol of suffering and the resurrection of a people.

France and England laud the Czar's plan of a great barrier against Pan-Germanism; and a writer in the *New York World* says that in no country has the Czar's manifesto created a profounder sensation than in America, for the welfare of Poland is of ever-present interest to Americans through

memory of Pulaski and Kosciuszko and the many other sons of Poland that shed their blood for America in the War of Independence and again in the Civil War. Gabriel Hanotaux, former French Minister of Foreign Affairs, says in the *Paris Figaro* that the Czar's promise of autonomy for Poland lifts another nightmare from the breast of Europe.

How the Czar's words will re-echo among the oppressed nations! The Slavonians in Galicia and Bohemia, the Alsations and Lorrainers, and the Danes in Holstein will respond to this cry of liberty. We get a vision of a new Europe, after this war is waged to exorcise the demons that are maddening Germany, where all that have suffered their helmeted tyranny will rise in freedom.

The Chambers will be summoned in November to ratify acts of high state. This is interpreted to mean the realization in proper form of the commander-in-chief's promise to unite under one flag,—that of Russia,—the Poles now so unhappily divided under three warring flags.

What will be the attitude of Poland towards her despoilers is not yet known to the Poles in America, as no positive intimation from Poland has yet come to them. The London *Daily News*, judging by Russian papers at hand, believes that the response of the Russian Poles to the manifesto of Grand Duke Nicholas has been everywhere received enthusiastically. It declares that there has been no hitch in the mobilization of the Polish troops and no desertions, and that the Polish national parties have issued a joint manifesto cautioning the Polish people against independent action. The Poles must not take upon themselves any active part, but by merely defending their position as an independent people, they may prepare themselves for a better future. The danger consists in temptations, in premature initiative, in systemless activity. Another manifesto of these parties alludes to the efforts to tempt the Russian Poles to treason made by the Socialists of Austrian Poland and by the Austrian Government, which has resorted to an old trick by forming two special volunteer regiments of Polish cavalry with the complete outfit of the old Polish Hussars and Uhlans.

Do not lend yourselves to these promises. They



are false. None of the invading armies intends to fight for the sake of Poland. Every one of them is fighting for the interests of its respective state, and these states care nothing about us. They simply want to use us for their own purposes at this critical moment, and he is a blind dreamer that tells you Austria, in alliance with Prussia, aspires to restore Poland.

The New York *Robotnik Polski* (The Polish Worker) observes:

From Peter the Great to Alexander III Russia was half German. It was for this reason especially,—that she was surrounded by three German states,—that Slavonic Poland was dismembered. Almost to the present day Germany in whole, Austria by half, and Russia thirty per cent. were German. When it has now come to a terrible war of Russia against Germany, Russia has vehemently begun to wash Germanism from herself; and she must become truly Slavonic,—there is no other help for it. That is the reason why the Russian Czar has come forth with such an important manifesto, acknowledging that the partition of Poland was a crime, reminding us of our triumph over the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald, and promising to unite the three parts of Poland and to give us autonomy with the freedom of the Polish language.

The Poles hate Russia, says the *Robotnik Polski*, for

Russia has unmercifully wronged them for more than one hundred and thirty years; but Germany has been a racial foe of the Poles for a thousand years, from the day when, in 900, Margrave Gero put to the sword the Lechian tribes on the Havel and the Spree to this day, when Emperor William II allows Drzymala and many Poles like him on the Warta to live,—not in houses built on land, however, but in carts.

What hides behind the coulisses of the diplomacy of the allied states we do not know, says the *Chicago Zgoda* (Harmony).

Only this is certain, that the reconstruction of Poland as a neutral state, constituting a barricade between Russia and Germany, is of great consequence to the states to-day allied with Russia. Hence, the Czar's manifesto has been greeted so joyfully and heartily by the French and English papers; hence, the French and English have been overjoyed by it probably more than the Poles.

For the Poles, having been taught so often by sad experience that no confidence can be placed in any manifestoes and promises of the rulers of the powers that dismembered the Polish Republic, cannot reconcile themselves to the thought that this manifesto also may not be merely an empty promise by which they should not be deluded.

Hence, the manifesto promising Poland freedom, but under the scepter of the Czar, must also be taken coldly and prudently by the Poles.

"Perhaps it is better," observes Stanislaus Osada, secretary of the Polish National Council of America,

that in view of the inundation of the Polish terri-

tories by the millions of the armies of the despoiling powers, no Pole can stir to-day and must do that which he is ordered to do and even beat those whom he is ordered to beat,—for in the present state of nervous excitement, who knows whether some absurdity might not be committed?

Of the appeal which an Associated Press despatch to the papers of September 8 says that Henry Sienkiewicz has made to the Austrian Poles to fight with Russia, the New York *World* says:

That the Czar's promises to the Poles are accepted in good faith is proved by Henryk Sienkiewicz's appeal to the Poles of Austria to fight with Russia. The author of "With Fire and Sword," "Pan Michael," and "The Deluge" is unquestionably the most notable of living Polish writers, and his great trilogy is the chief glory of modern Polish literature. No Pole is more intense in his patriotism than Sienkiewicz, and his influence will be felt wherever the Polish language is read and spoken.

### Alsace and Poland

For forty years the question of Alsace-Lorraine has dominated the world, says a French writer, Pierre de Quirielle, writing in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. During this period there has not been a question raised of continental European importance that has not been directly, or indirectly, involved in the history or future of these two provinces. All Germany's foreign policy, as well as that of France, came back, in the final analysis, to "the blue line of the Vosges." To all appearances, even when Austria attacked Serbia, this question was underlain by the problem of Alsace-Lorraine.

This writer sees a remarkable historic connection between the question of Alsace-Lorraine and that of Poland. He says:

There is nothing surprising to the historian in the fact that these two questions should come up together. Intimately linked to the questions of the Orient in the eighteenth century, the question of Poland has likewise more than once been linked to that of Alsace. A sort of mysterious connection has appeared between them in the course of the great wars of the Revolution, when Alsace was involved, and the question of Poland played a rôle without which subsequent events could not have been explained. It was Poland which saved Alsace, when invaded by Prussian and Austrian armies, by creating dissensions between these two powers, and while (in December, 1793) Hache, with his army, was regaining Alsace upon the battlefields of Froeschwiller and of Wissemburg, the same battlefields on which France lost her in 1870. Again it was Poland that saved Alsace in the beginning of 1814 when the allied forces invaded France through Alsace. Prussia and Austria, fearful that Russia might reconstitute Poland for her own advancement, refused to be

"taken in" by the promise of Alsace, which was dangled before their eyes, by way of compensation. And, lastly, at the convention of February 8, 1863, which had been cleverly manipulated by Bismarck with Russia, concerning Poland, and which guaranteed Prussia the neutrality and good will of her powerful neighbor in the East in the series of military enterprises which culminated in the constitution of the German Empire, it was immolated Poland that was used as

the instrument in preparing the loss of Alsace. Poland, Alsace, two great, generous names that history has so often brought together, and which to-day seem inseparable! Nicholas II promises to resuscitate Poland, while we Frenchmen have centered all our hopes on Alsace. Alsace-Lorraine and Poland united by fate under the same oppressive Prusso-German régime! Let us fervently hope that one will not become the ransom of the other again.

## WHY TURKISH SENTIMENT IS PRO-GERMAN

THE newspapers have been freely and frequently predicting that Turkey, if she breaks her neutrality in the European war, will act in the interest of Germany and Austria.

To those who have followed, from time to time, the reports from the Turkish press, in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, this news is not a surprise. The Turks have been accusing England, Russia, and France as the source of all their troubles, and especially of the Tripolitan war with Italy and the first Balkan conflict. The latter was heralded as a great diplomatic masterstroke by the members of the Entente with the object—so it was admitted—of beginning the partition of Turkey. Moreover, all European colonies inhabited by Moslems belong to one or the other members of the Entente. The history of the subjugation of these countries has been one of military operation. It is very clear, therefore, that the sympathies of the Turk and Moslem are with Germany, the enemy of those whom they regard as their oppressors and betrayers. The Turks even hope to regain liberty and real independence through the victories of the German Kaiser in Europe.

Under the title of "The Crime of Europe," the *Jeune-Turc*, a representative Turkish paper with high connections, says:

Europe was an accomplice in the Balkan alliance. She knew all the details and the aims. Not only did she permit the Balkan nations to attack Turkey, not only did she encourage them, but, with treachery such as no self-respecting country or individual can forget, in order to help them in the work of destruction and ruin, she succeeded in convincing our government that no danger was ahead, and by fallacious promises to lull our just suspicions, and so to have us weaken our frontiers, because we believed that war had been averted. . . . Thus by allowing Italy to grab Tripoli the blow was given, three years ago, to the principle of Ottoman integrity, and two years

ago the Balkan kingdoms were encouraged instead of being condemned and were even praised all over Europe. . . . This, however, was a crime of which Europe has been guilty toward a nation where, notwithstanding all its sufferings and calamities, the chivalrous principles of courage and generosity have never perished. It was a crime for which Europe is paying to-day in full, by the most terrible cataclysm of which history has ever left to us a record.

The same journal, speaking of Turkey's declaration of neutrality, a question which is daily discussed in editorials, says:

Our government will not take any aggressive initiative. Her only purpose is to see the peace of Europe quickly re-established. She is following with vigilant attention everything that is happening, and will certainly know how to use every occasion to assert her rights and protect her interests. . . . It is possible that, at some time during the European war, our interests could become affected; we must be prepared for all eventualities and be vigilant, because conditions can change instantly and we must not let any possible advantages escape us. . . . The neutrality which is proclaimed does not forbid us to watch without rest for the defense of our rights and interests.

The same journal bitterly attacks Great Britain for the seizure of the two Turkish dreadnoughts, the *Sultan Osman* and the *Rechadié*, that were being finished in the Armstrong docks in England when the war broke out. It says:

Within a few hours, and without warning, by an act that is unique in the history of the "rights of men or nations," a country, because she is powerful, has dared to appropriate ships belonging to a friendly nation that has always given her proofs of friendship and between whom exist treaties of friendship and guarantees. . . . This act of bad faith will not fail to influence gravely Anglo-Turkish relations. . . . This act has been very much resented by all of us, because the addition of the two dreadnoughts will not help to make England any stronger on sea than she is and were not necessary for her to maintain her naval supremacy.

## THE EVOLUTION OF RUMANIA

OF all the states involved in the Balkan wars Rumania, says André Chéradame, in the *Correspondant* (Paris), finds herself in the most advantageous position, both from a political and military standpoint. The government of Bucharest, favored by circumstances, has acquired considerable territory without having shed a drop of blood. Therefore her strength is unimpaired and her army intact.

The military intervention in Bulgaria marks a turning point in the history of Rumania, continues this writer.

The Rumanians are elated beyond measure at having come to wield almost arbitrary power over the whole Balkan Peninsula, although they themselves are not Balkan, either in a moral or geographical sense.

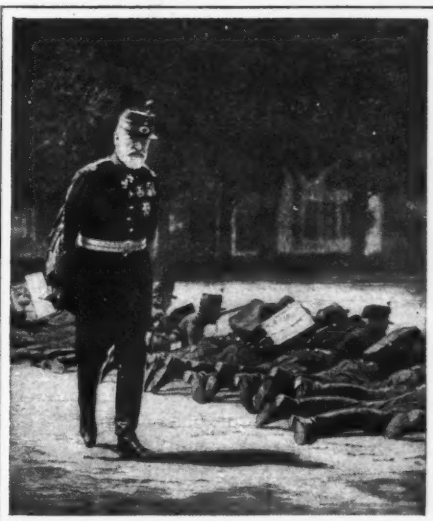
The evolution of Rumania is highly important, not only with regard to the Balkan states, but also with regard to Europe in general.

Situated among groups of Slavs and Magyars, for a long time Latin Rumania found herself compelled to lean towards the Triple Alliance, although the majority of her population was not in sympathy with that policy. However, it was but natural that King Charles, as a member of the Hohenzollern family and a personal friend of the Austrian Emperor, should endeavor to incline his subjects in that direction. Sole master of the external policy of the country, the King did his best to divert the attention of his people from Transylvania and to concentrate it upon the famous Bulgarian "Quadrilateral," as the four cities, Rustchuk, Silistria, Chumla and Varna, are known. The acquisition of this territory completed Rumania's political evolution.

Although up to 1907 Rumania appeared to be irrevocably linked with the Triple Alliance, in that year it ceased to be so.

The Rumanians had long been wondering what their fidelity to Germany and Austro-Hungary had done for them. The answer was "Nothing at all." Small wonder that for some years there was a sullen feeling of discontent in Bucharest against the government of Vienna and Budapest. The Magyars were molesting the Rumanians in Transylvania more and more, and Rumania had to appear oblivious of these continuous vexations. As for Austria, she was making the most of a commercial treaty, wholly unfavorable to the Rumanians, to sell the latter goods at top notch prices. The Balkan-Turkish crisis served to strengthen this spirit of disaffection and forced an open manifestation. Rumania

soon saw that it could look to Vienna in vain for support in the demands she made to Bulgaria for compensation. Austria was then too absorbed in her efforts to destroy the Balkan confederation



KING KAROL OF RUMANIA INSPECTING HIS TROOPS

and to settle once for all the Balkan nightmare,—by setting the Bulgars at the Serbs,—to hearken to Rumania. Vienna kept sending evasive replies to Bucharest and the Rumanians got tired. Therefore, when the question concerning Silistria came up sharply, Rumania turned to St. Petersburg. There she found the support of Russia and France, and Austria was forced, though with much ill grace, to acquiesce to Rumania's demands. The Austro-Hungarian diplomacy maneuvered so clumsily at Bucharest that the mobilization was effected amid shouts of "Down with Austria! Long Live France!" From this instant (July 3, 1913) dates the decided turning point in Rumanian evolution, and its course is now firmly set. The ethics of Rumanian intervention against the Bulgars, while these were harassed by a multiple foe, Rumania justifies by the following argument: "We have only treated the Bulgars as they would have treated us later on had we failed to act beforehand." This plea seems to be justified by a map found in a work of Bulgarian propaganda called "The Soldier's Companion." It was afterwards authorized and approved by the Sofia War Department, and was published in its eighth edition in 1912. The map showed a large part of Rumanian territory absorbed by Bulgaria. Among the provinces over which Bulgaria had cast ambitious schemes was that of the Rumanian Dobroudja, as far as Galatz. "Therefore," concluded the Rumanians, "we have only averted this danger by securing for ourselves strategic positions which will enable us to avoid this peril."

Rumania has apparently entered into a brilliant period of expansion. In 1860 Rumania numbered 3,917,541 population.

To-day it is grown to 7,550,000. Recent statistics show that Rumania grows at the rate of a million every seven years.

The population is mainly of the peasant class. Rumanian society, represented by the class of large land owners, counts but a few thousand members. As for the middle class, it scarcely exists. The peasants are still in a primitive state. More than half of them are illiterate, although they are naturally intelligent. In some parts of this country, owing to local conditions, they find it difficult to make a living. But, in general, the conditions tend towards progress, thanks to the people's banks, cooperative associations, and peasants' agricultural societies, which have been created to help the peasant to cultivate and exploit the lands of the large estate holders. In many cases these associations have made it possible to suppress the middle man, who, usually a Jew or a Greek, made his fortune at the expense of the Rumanian peasant and landlord. This has been an evil of long standing.

The Rumanian peasant is a splendid worker. Thanks to his industry, Rumania stands second in the world as a producer of wheat and corn per capita. These qualities of energy and industry, this writer asserts, are responsible for the extraordinary agricultural development and progress of the past fifty years in Rumania. A few figures will serve to make this statement plain.

	Imports		Exports	
1871	82,927,228	francs	177,682,782	francs
1910	409,715,576	francs	616,504,872	francs
	Commercial Balance			
	94,755,554			francs
	206,789,296			francs

It must be noted that most of the industry and commerce are in foreign hands.

In Bucharest 40,000 Austro-Hungarians are engaged in industry and commerce. The Rumanians

wish to free themselves from Austrian and German commercial dependence, but it will take some time and much effort before this can be accomplished. This situation explains why Rumanian wealth is not commensurate with its activity. Its rural population, which works so arduously during the summer, has next to nothing to do in winter. It spends during the idle months all that it has earned for the daily necessities of life. All industrial products come from the outside. Every year during the months of intense agricultural activity and for works of construction in the large cities, Rumania must import thousands of Serb and Bulgar workmen who send their earnings home. The oil industry has also grown immensely, but it is carried on by foreign capital. The gains therefrom do not remain in the country either. However, despite these unfavorable circumstances, the wealth of the people is growing steadily, if slowly.

After the Balkan crisis the Liberal party, under the leadership of Bratiano, came into power. Its first act was to vote the revision of the constitution in order to be able to carry out its program of reforms.

Among them the most important are the electoral reforms aiming to extend the right of suffrage, and the agrarian reforms, which will give the state the right to expropriate large tracts of private lands in order to parcel and sell them as small farms to the peasants. Rumania realizes that the basis of her national strength is her peasant, and in improving his material condition she prepares the way for the realization of her dream of a Greater Rumania.

Greater Rumania means the annexation of Transylvania, where 3,400,000 Rumanians live in bitter discontent under Magyar domination.

There are 3,700,000 Rumanians on the "other" side of the Carpathian Mountains (in Hungary), of whom 400,000 are in Bukovina and the remainder in Transylvania.

## THE PANAMA CANAL AND THE AMERICAN FLEET

PREFACING his general discussion by quoting the great Napoleon, to the effect that "war is a business of positions," Rear Admiral H. E. Mahan, U. S. N., in an article in the *North American Review*, considers "The Panama Canal and the Distribution of the North American Fleet." Admiral Mahan's discussion is, in the main, couched in language that will appeal to students of military and naval affairs. In substance it is an elaboration of the contention that the Panama Canal is essentially and primarily a factor in our national defense, and that it enables us to keep a divided fleet,—because at any time we can consolidate it. Considering the relation of the Canal to the navy, the Admiral says:

The relation of the Canal to the Navy is that it opens a much shorter line of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and





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## THE ANCON, THE FIRST COMMERCIAL VESSEL TO PASS THROUGH THE GREAT WATERWAY

thereby does enable a given number of ships—a given strength of fleet—to do a much greater amount of work; in the sense that it is able to reach one coast from the other in so much less time as is required to go by it instead of by the Straits of Magellan. Such an advantage may be represented in terms of fewer ships, as well as of less time. It is conceivable, though not probable, that both coasts might be exposed to attack at the same moment. Without the Canal this contingency could be met only by two fleets—that is, one of competent number on each coast. With the Canal not only is transfer quicker and, as to administrative problems, easier, but a fleet smaller in numbers than the aggregate of the two, yet decisively superior to either enemy, has the chance of destroying first the one and then the other, as the Japanese destroyed first the Port Arthur fleet and then *Rojhestvenski's*. The value of the time element contributed by the Canal is apparent. The Canal, in short, is a central position, from

which action may be taken in either direction, and it is also a decisive link in a most important line of communications. . . . It, therefore, assures the communications of the fleet, and in this respect is to be considered as a highway, as a means of transit. The fleet assures the communications, the line of supplies, to the Canal and its defenses, which from this point of view are an advanced base of operations. These services are reciprocal, but distinct. That Panama will have the unique privilege of two entrances, one on each ocean, assuring two lines of supplies, widely divergent, emphasizes its independence, and that of the fleet; which, when acting in one ocean, has thus a covered line of supply in the other. In the matter of defense, regarded as a question of mere fighting, the fleet and Canal have no essential connection with each other. The Canal should be so fortified as to be indifferent, at a moment of attack, whether the fleet is in its ports or a thousand miles away.

## JAPAN'S UNALTERABLE FRIENDSHIP

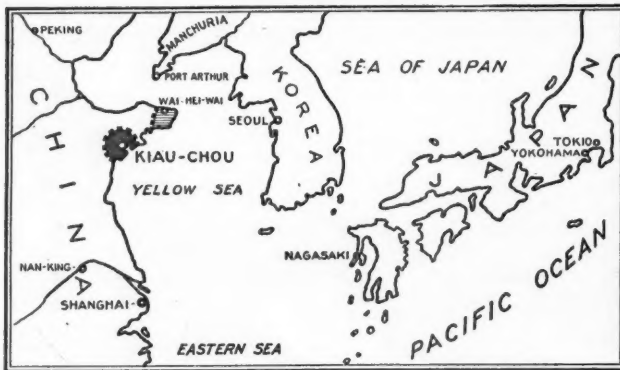
**K**IAU CHAU, as relating to America, may mean food for the jingoes. It means nothing else. Such is the judgment of Adachi Kinnosuke, a Japanese-American, who has more than once contributed to these pages articles on the Far East. In *Harper's Weekly* Mr. Adachi, under the heading, "The Japanese Bugaboo," has the following to say concerning Japan's friendship for this country:

Many years ago when the writer was a prep in the Aoyama Ei-Wa Gakko (a missionary school in Tokyo, conducted by Americans, by the by), in the thick of a rough and tumble fight with that

invention of the devil which some humorist called King's English, there was a big front page story in Tokyo newspapers. Japan at the time was trying to revise her old treaties with the powers; it was a tortuous job and the mountains were in travail bringing forth little mice. A conference of foreign diplomatists was called—the newspaper story said—at which the British, the German and the French ministers talked over what they were willing to do for the Japanese, or rather what they were going to do to them. There was one silent member at the conference—the American minister.

The memorandum of understandings was drawn up and passed around for the signature of the diplomatists. It was handed round to the American minister. He pushed it away from him:

"Among the Japanese people, I have a num-



KIAU-CHAU GERMANY'S CHINESE COLONY AND ITS  
RELATION TO JAPAN

ber of friends," he was reported to have said. "As for these demands and high and mighty mandates, gentlemen, I would not think of making them upon a dog, let alone upon friends."

A newspaper fairy tale? Once more,—per-

haps. The fact stands that the story went the round of the Tokyo gossip like torches on a festival night,—that much I personally know. You know better than I the part America played at the time of the Treaty of Portsmouth. Japan has never forgot it, any more than she has forgot the "robbery of the Liaotone Peninsula by the Three Powers" at the end of the Chinese war. Why, my dear American readers, you know that on Ginza Street (Japan's Broadway) to be an American is to be greater than a Roman in the classic days? It was so in the days of the Russian war; it is so now. Yes, this very day, in spite of all newspaper agitations and the mud slings of political capitalists, the popular attitude of Japan toward America and the Americans is utterly and radically different from the way the American looks upon the Japanese. Here is a thing oddly striking and strikingly important.

## THE COURTESY OF WAR

**F**AR too much has been said of the inconveniences suffered by American citizens shown to our citizens by the war-distracted abroad in the war time. And far too little has been said of the really amazing courtesy nations of Europe. We have already had



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STRANDED AMERICAN TRAVELLERS RETURNING HOME, IN A BOX CAR BUT GOODNATURED

occasion to speak of this in our editorial pages. Testimony to the fact has been borne by many Americans of public eminence and of private obscurity. Of course it has not been pleasant to be on the continent of Europe in war time. However, the general verdict has been that so well phrased by a writer in the Catholic weekly *America* where he says that he carried away one impression, that of unfailing courtesy and consideration at every point, and particularly in the most desperately threatened country of all, France. This traveler had in three weeks' time passed through Austria, Italy, Switzerland, France and England, in what threatened for long to be a vain attempt to return to the United States. He says:

Americans are bred in an atmosphere of peace and natural security. Perhaps for this reason they find it harder to condone the stern measures demanded by war. It is certainly hard to learn that even with fifty vacant places, no civilians or foreigners can take a French train during the heat of mobilization. But do our harassed Americans stop to consider the courtesy of a government that will accept thousands of new mouths to feed, when their own citizens may soon be faced with starvation? Do they consider the

burden it is to a fearfully overworked government, to have the country's police officers and city halls besieged by throngs of clamoring foreigners, when the nation's very life hangs by a thread?

Speaking of the courtesy in small details shown to Americans in both Germany and France he says:

I saw a French soldier, who had not slept for twenty-four hours, throw away a cigarette he had just lighted for fear the smoke would annoy a lady near him in the train. The cigarette was his only consolation and the lady begged him to continue smoking. But he would not hear of it. The poor fellow was on his way to Belgium, where he would go into the fighting at once; yet he refused to stretch out and sleep for fear of crowding others in the car. . . .

A hundred other incidents I could give of the hospitality and politeness of those nations in the death struggle. But it is hardly necessary. I only ask those who are now so absorbed in their own petty grievances to stop for a moment and think how splendidly they have been treated. I only ask them to show a little of that tolerance and courtesy which others have shown to them, and to pray sometimes for the soldiers whose sleep they have robbed, and for the hungry whose food they have shared. If many of us have returned safely, we should recognize where our true gratitude must be shown.

## IS IT THE FAILURE OF MALE STATECRAFT?

THE women's journals very generally,—particularly those in England,—point vigorously at the European war as the failure of male statecraft.

Women may well stand aghast at the ruin by which the civilization of the white races in the Eastern Hemisphere is confronted, says *Votes for Women*. Mechanical destruction! Organized death! This, then, is the climax that the male system of diplomacy and government has reached. For this cataclysm women bear no responsibility whatever. On the contrary, they have warned governments again and again that the exaltation of material and financial interests above those of race welfare was working out the destruction of human society.

By their heroic struggle for the vote women have sought to find entrance into the Councils of the Human Commonwealth, in order that they might there represent the supreme issue of race preservation and development. Their demand has been denied by male arrogance that has proved itself so tragically and fatefully inept in its self-assumed task.

Men have often passed sweeping depreciatory verdicts upon women as a sex. They have defended their monopoly of government by assertions that women have no knowledge of business, that they are lacking in practical efficiency, and that they are unable to think imperially. They have drawn absurd imaginary pictures of women

in official positions, and have essayed to portray the muddle and confusion that their entrance into the administrative life of the nation would portend. The Empire, they have said, would have "to shut up shop" once women were admitted across the threshold of politics.

To-day, it is for men to stand down, and for the women whom they have belittled to take the seat of judgment. No picture, however overdrawn, of women's ignorance, error, or folly, could exceed in fantastic yet tragic horror the spectacle with which male governments are furnishing history to-day. The foundations of the structure of civilization which they have erected in Europe have proven rotten. The edifice, seemingly so secure, has suddenly collapsed. The failure of male statecraft is complete.

Governments, by deliberately bandaging and closing up one of the two human eyes given to Humanity for vision, have lost all perspective. By shutting out women from the Councils of the State they have lost the sense of the relative values of material aggrandizement and of human life. Men know nothing by actual experience of the cost in blood and agony of replenishing the race, they know little actually of the daily absorption and sacrifice expended by millions of women in keeping the rising generations in a state of efficiency and health. Had the women's point of view secured its due representation in the States that are so tragically involved in the present war, they would never have started upon a campaign that means race suicide.

## AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY

MUCH has been written and printed during the past few weeks on the subject of the new trade opportunities opened to the United States by the great war. But comparatively little has been attempted in the way of suggesting or formulating a national policy in the present crisis. To this task Mr. Harrington Emerson, the efficiency expert, addresses himself in the September number of the *Engineering Magazine*. He notes the coincidence of the passage of the currency bill, giving the nation almost unlimited liberty to expand financially, with the opening of markets in the western hemisphere which have heretofore been practically monopolized by other nations. He also notes the completion of the Panama Canal, which brings the west coast of South America nearer to our factories, while at the same time a larger proportion of the world's mercantile marine is coming to our flag. The fact that the nations of Europe are taking over their food supplies, lest there be a shortage, suggests to Mr. Emerson that our own Government might wisely take over the cotton crop, the wheat crop, the corn crop, and a number of other staple commodities at a normally high price and hold them against the world's needs.

As to cotton, in particular, Mr. Emerson says:

The Southern farmer has raised all the cotton he knew how to, probably not more than half of what he ought to have raised per acre. Corporations have ginned it for him and compressed it and stand ready to haul it to market. No corporation can buy and hold the whole cotton crop or any part of it. It is the duty of the Government to place in reservoir the flood of the unmarketable cotton and to hold it at a minimum export price until wanted.

## WHAT AMERICAN WOMEN CAN DO

BELIEVING that the women of the United States have in their own hands a partial solution of some of the industrial problems that will inevitably arise in the present world crisis, the editor of the *Woman's Home Companion* asked Miss Ida M. Tarbell to write a message to his readers showing how American women might find it a duty and a privilege to support American industries, not only in this present crisis, but at all times. Miss Tarbell's chief criticism is concerned with the preference that American women give to imported articles, thus compelling American manufacturers to become makers of cheap goods, although in many instances they would be glad to supply articles of the finest quality.

I remember a Massachusetts woolen manufacturer showing me three different pieces of exquisitely woven stuffs. They were oases in cords of cotton worsteds.

"I make these," he told me, "for the pleasure of making a good thing. Bradford can do nothing better; but there isn't an American woman alive who wouldn't prefer to say that Bradford made the cloth in her suit, rather than Massachusetts!"

I have had spread before me as beautiful designs for summer cottons as were ever made, and heard the manufacturer say, with longing in his voice:

"If we could but put these into fine, soft fabrics! But the American woman will not buy expensive domestic goods. She demands the foreign mark."

As pliable, durable, and beautifully finished silks as there are in the world can be made here in quantities. But where is the American woman who *boasts* that she wears American silks?

The day has come for the American woman to wake up to her duty to the industries of this country. Our common people have paid a terrible price to establish them, but they never can be developed to their place and power without her aid and stimulus. Now is her time. Temporarily, at least, the maelstrom which has sucked in all Europe deprives her of supplies. This is her time to learn what her own country's industries can do, and to rally with all her influence to their support, urging them to make the things she wants, pledging them her allegiance.

The world has seen in these days wonderful outbursts of Patriotism. We have seen men and women literally begging to be taken to their country's aid. Is it only war which is to stir men and women to effort and thought and sacrifice? Has Patriotism nothing to do with Peace, with the daily efforts of men?

The Great Patriotism is that which serves one's land consciously and steadily in all the relations of life. The American woman of taste and means has never fully recognized her relation to her country's industries. Now is her time to awake.

Our duty as a nation, then, according to Miss Tarbell's conception, is to keep our own people at work through this crisis, "to show the world what patriotic peace means as opposed to patriotic war," and she calls upon the American woman to give steady and intelligent support to American industries, instead of giving preference to imported articles, as her contribution to this end.



## ROBINSON CRUSOE'S ISLAND TO-DAY

A WIRELESS telegraph station on the island of Juan Fernandez,—Robinson Crusoe's Island,—this is one of the most dramatic indications of modern progress in the world's remote corners. This astonishing, romance-shattering announcement was recently made in the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union. In an interesting illustrated article in a subsequent number of the *Bulletin*, Mr. Edward Albes, one of the editorial staff of that publication, gives some new facts about the present condition of land and people on Robinson Crusoe's Island.

In reality, he reminds us, the Juan Fernandez group is composed of three islands, but the name is usually applied to the largest, which is known as Mas a Tierra (Nearer Land), located about 360 nautical miles west of Valparaiso, Chile. Close to its west end a small rocky islet rises out of the breakers, which is called Santa Clara. About 96 miles farther west is Mas a Fuera (Further Away), only a little smaller than Mas a Tierra. It was on Mas a Tierra that Selkirk was left to his lonely exile. The island is of an irregular form, about 12 miles in length, but scarcely 4 miles across in its widest part. The island was discovered in 1572 by a Spanish navigator, Don Juan Fernandez. It now belongs to Chile.

After recounting the visits of the earliest explorers, the writer of the article, Mr. Albes, comes down to the hero of our boyhood days, Robinson Crusoe, or rather to the "piratically inclined gentleman who served as a model for the fairer picture drawn with all the imaginative skill of the master hand of fiction." Of Selkirk, we are told:

He was born about 1676 of "poor but honest parents," his father being a respectable tanner and shoemaker, and that he was of a somewhat turbulent and quarrelsome disposition. He had many ups and downs, principally downs, and having acquired some knowledge of mathematics and navigation, he took to the sea. In 1703 one Captain Dampier organized a little buccaneering expedition, and on the 11th of September left Kinsale with two vessels, the *Saint George* and a

galley called the *Cinque-Ports*, our friend Selkirk being sailing master of the last-named. Failing to intercept certain Spanish galleons which they had intended to capture, they reached the coast of Brazil, where they "wooded, watered, and refitted." There his first lieutenant and eight of his crew remained on shore rather than continue with Dampier, and Captain Pickering of the *Cinque-Ports* having died, Lieutenant Stradling took command of the galley. They sailed around the Horn and finally landed at Juan Fernandez in February, 1704. More "watering, wooding, and refitting" took place, and quite a healthy mutiny was started by some 42 of the men. This was finally quelled, and on February 29, seeing a sail on the horizon, both vessels set out in pursuit. The strange vessel proved to be a well-armed and manned French ship, which succeeded in fighting off the English buccaneers and escaped to Peru. In their hurry to give chase to the strange vessel the Englishmen had left six of their men on Juan Fernandez, so they returned to pick them up. On this journey Selkirk seems to have had a quarrel with Captain Stradling; in addition to this, the *Cinque-Ports* was in a "crazy" and leaky condition, and the Scotchman is said to have had a dream that the vessel was cast away. All of which decided him to quit the vessel and to remain on the island. Toward the end of August they reached the island, and upon the stubborn Scotchman's insistence, Stradling finally left him there "alone in his glory." As to what befell him, how he lived, his adventures, etc., the reader is respectfully referred to "Robinson Crusoe." Selkirk was relieved of his self-imposed exile by Capt. Woodes Rogers, of the privateer *Duke*, on February 12, 1709, his former commander, Captain Dampier, being the pilot of the expedition. Had he remained on the island he would very likely have fallen into the hands of the Spaniards some three years later.



CRUSOE'S CAVE ON JUAN FERNANDEZ ISLAND



THE MONUMENT TO ROBINSON CRUSOE—ALEXANDER SELKIRK

The present condition of the island and its modern claim to the interest of the world are described in a page,—quoted by the *Bulletin* writer,—from a book, "The Wilds of Patagonia," published some years ago by Dr. Carl Skottsberg, of the Swedish Magellanic Expedition, which visited Juan Fernandez in 1908. Says Dr. Skottsberg:

From a botanical point of view, Juan Fernandez is one of the world's most famous places. It is often the case that islands lying far away from the great continents exhibit a marvelous animal and plant life, containing genera and species not found elsewhere,—endemic, as they are called. In this respect Juan Fernandez is perhaps only surpassed by the Sandwich Islands. About 65 per cent. of the total number of vascular plants (planerogams and ferns) are confined to that small group of islands. It is as if one had been carried back to past geological periods, as if one walked about in a living museum crowded with rare specimens. So many wonderful plants are brought together here on a small area that one must touch them to realize that one does not dream. . . . The flora is without doubt very old, of a tertiary origin or older, and must have come from the South American Continent, but for several reasons disappeared to a great extent on the mainland. The ice age cannot have had any influence of importance on Juan Fernandez.

This Swedish scientist describes graphically his visit to the world's last sandalwood tree on the island of Juan Fernandez:

The discovery of this kind of wood, famous since the days of Solomon, on Juan Fernandez attracted notice. We have no reports of it previous to 1624, when, according to Burney, L'Heremite reported sandal trees in great number. According to another authority, ships used to visit the place as early as 1664 to bring the valuable wood to the coast, where it was highly appreciated. One did not think of preserving anything; a hundred years later it was hardly possible to find a living tree, and in the beginning of last century it was regarded as extinct. No botanist had ever seen the leaves or flowers. Suddenly F. Philippi, in Santiago, got some fresh twigs brought to him in 1888; he found them to belong to the genus *Santalum*; the species being new, it received the name of *S. fernandezianum*. The general interest in the tree was increased, but nobody told where the branches came from; a living tree was still unknown. Only in 1892 did Johow [a member of the party] get news of one; a colonist had found it in Puerto Ingles, high up in the valley. He was the first botanist who saw this plant. It is easily understood that I was anxious to become the second. How many people had looked for other specimens! All their efforts were fruitless; as far as we knew Johow's tree was the very last. If it were still there!

The man who brought Johow to the spot still lived, and after we had explained our purely scientific interest he promised to send his son with us. It would have been more than uncertain for us alone to look for a single tree in a valley clad with virgin forest. . . .

We walked up the valley and made an ascent of the western side; the place is so steep that one is forced to grasp the trees and shrubs to get a foothold. Our guide stopped, looked around for a minute, down a few hundred yards, and we had reached our destination. The last sandal tree. Absolutely the last descendant of *Santalum fernandezianum*. It is so queer to stand at the deathbed of a species; probably we were the last scientists who saw it living. We looked at the old tree with a religious respect, touched the stem and the firm, dark-green leaves,—it is not only an individual, it is a species that is dying. It cannot last very long. There is only one little branch left fresh and green; the others are dead. We cut a piece to get specimens of the peculiar, red, strongly scented wood. A photo was taken, I made some observations on the place, and we said good-bye.

The Juan Fernandez group of islands have been opened to colonization. A fishing company has stations on both Mas a Tierra and Mas a Fuera, and quite a number of families live on the former.

Horses, cattle, and sheep have replaced the wild goats of Selkirk's time, and browse contentedly on rare specimens of vegetation not to be found elsewhere on earth. The giant Juan Fernandez lobsters, frequently reaching a length of 2 to 3 feet, are shipped to Chile, and the epicures of Valparaíso and Santiago pay from 10 to 15 pesos (\$2 to \$3) each for them in the fancy restaurants. The domain of Robinson Crusoe has become the scene of prosaic money-making.

## AMERICAN LABOR'S PROTEST AGAINST WAR

IN the September number of the *American Federationist*, the official magazine of the American Federation of Labor, there is an editorial entitled "European Cataclysm or Democracy—Which?" The writer of this article (Mr. Samuel Gompers) laments the fact that in the world's development political organization has not kept pace with the breaking of artificial barriers between the nations and the welding together of humanity through common interests that has been going on in modern times. In this twentieth century, says Mr. Gompers, he who understands the things that are must speak and think in world terms.

No longer do the people of one country live unto themselves alone. What affects one affects all in some degree. The markets in which we buy and sell are organized on a world scale. Money, the medium that gives life to the markets, responds to international influences and laws. The intellectual life of the peoples is concerned with universal interests. Knowledge, culture, education, recognize no national barriers in amassing their priceless stores. None of these is the exclusive possession of any nation. The quickening of the social conscience has been in response to a keener appreciation of the value of human life. The expression of this conviction in practical form has resulted in world-wide organizations such as the international organizations of the workers and of students, international associations of hygiene, social insurance, medicine, and fraternal organizations.

Political institutions, on the other hand, have not yet reached a point where they can serve international purposes very effectually. There is still an opportunity in international crises for men without consciences to set the nations aflame. "A few men still have power to say to millions: Follow me. I demand your service even unto death."

To bolster up tottering thrones and policies of self-aggrandizement, European monarchs have sacrificed social and economic welfare to the ominous waste involved in militarism and competitive armament. Regardless of the protests of those whose backs were already bending under heavy burdens and whose lives had been made joyless by sordid cares and privations, national resources have been squandered upon agencies of destruction. The waste and the suffering from militarism and war are most keenly felt by the

working people. As war touches them to the quick they are most earnest and most vehement in opposition to it. The organizations of the workers are practically the only organizations that continue their protest even in the presence of war. The Church Peace Conference to be held at Constance vanished before the sound of musketry. All of Europe has quickly abandoned intellectual dissent from war and reverted to animal instincts and lower ideals.

The editor reminds us that had the nations of the world endorsed the so-called naval-holiday policy proposed by Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty in England, and urged by the American labor movement, there would have been set up a tendency to counteract the "eternal preparedness for war which is an incentive to unnecessary conflict." Just prior to the outbreak of the war forces were everywhere at work for the democratizing of laws and governments.

In Germany the working people of Prussia were conducting a systematic campaign for free speech. They were insisting upon democratic principles in the Reichstag. Russia was confronted by open manifestation of discontent among her working people. The Cossacks were suppressing strikes for greater freedom. In Austria-Hungary a movement was developing for the purpose of securing the working people the right of association and of the free exercise of activities to better their conditions. Large accessions had been made to the labor representations in the national legislatures. In England social insurance and home rule for Ireland had been accomplished, demonstrating the constant tendency toward further democratization of British institutions. Autocratic government sought to overwhelm these democratic movements by international war.

The writer reverts to Victor Hugo's famous prediction of a United States of Europe, and declares that there is now developing an international morality that will be satisfied with nothing less than world federation. For the accomplishment of this great ideal,—the establishment of justice in all the relations of all people,—no power, says Mr. Gompers, is so potent as the organized-labor movement of the universe. "When the working people finally determine that international war shall cease, the world will be forever rid of fratricidal strife."

## FINANCIAL NEWS FOR THE INVESTOR

**A**S late as the middle of September practically all markets for securities in this country, including the New York Stock Exchange, remained closed. Thus for six or seven weeks buying and selling of stocks and bonds had been almost completely blocked, and at this writing no one can tell when normal operations will be resumed or how prices will act. To the owner of any form of securities, stocks, bonds, or mortgages, or to the prospective investor, the situation is one of intense interest.

However acute and temporarily important the discussions which attend each step toward a resumption of normal financial conditions, they are less vital to the individual man and woman than certain other questions. It may be assumed that stock exchanges and bond markets will be opened as soon as possible, and a vast amount of debate as to just when and how these steps should be taken is inevitable. But what will stocks and bonds do as normal conditions are slowly restored? Will prices go much lower? Will mortgages and real-estate securities be affected?

Already many industrial corporations have omitted dividends owing to the derangement of business and finance. Copper and oil companies especially have been forced to retrench because so large a part of their product goes abroad. Normally half the copper produced in this country is exported. Probably the dividends on great numbers of stocks will be omitted within the next few months. Of course, such action will, at least temporarily, depress the prices of these stocks. But, as stated by one large copper company in announcing its dividend suspension, "it is hoped that normal conditions may return as suddenly as the unforeseen troubles which now confront the copper industry appeared, and as soon as conditions do change, the directors will take such action as may at that time seem to be to the best interests of the shareholders."

This country will be by all odds the first to recover rapidly and extensively when the war nears an end and the tide turns towards general improvement. Already great numbers of domestic industries have been overwhelmed with orders because imports have stopped. The railroads, it is believed by

their managers, will be unable, for some time to come, to secure abroad any considerable part of the \$400,000,000 or \$500,000,000 which they require annually for normal development. A committee of managers in a statement to President Wilson says that "securities of United States railroads held abroad are computed at three to five billion dollars. It is a certainty that bond and note obligations of the railroads maturing before the end of next year aggregate over \$520,000,000."

President Wilson in a reply to the committee said that "railroad securities are at the very heart of most investments, large and small, public and private, by individuals and by institutions." It is clear that if railroad securities go down, industrial issues will fall still more seriously, just as events have shown that prices registered on the Stock Exchange control prices in general,—dealings between private individuals, as well as trades from hand to hand. But these evidences of the close interrelation of all things financial need not discourage. The country is clearly in a temper favorable to the railroads, and already they have been permitted to raise passenger rates. To date only one or two of the weaker roads have omitted dividends, and there is no reason to believe that earnings will fall so low as to stop interest payments on sound railroad bonds.

Municipal bonds, like those of railroads, have been threatened more by the embargo on new issues than by paucity of revenue. Cities and towns use the taxing power to pay their debts, and it is inconceivable that American municipalities will become so poor that taxes will not be paid. In August fewer municipal bonds were sold than in any month since the panicky November of 1907. Moreover, \$10,121,239 were offered without bidders and \$6,255,000 were withdrawn or postponed. But this paralysis was due entirely to the fact that bond dealers, the only original buyers of municipal bonds, had stopped doing business in all directions. Naturally the stoppage will slowly cure itself, as dealers deem it wise to resume business. The largest single problem in the bond markets was the temporary inability of New York



City to pay off in gold some \$80,000,000 of short-term notes coming due abroad between September 1 and January 1. Normally the entire payment would not have been demanded in gold, but all the banks of New York pooled their resources to raise the entire sum and meet the unusual demand. The promptness of this action not only had a most favorable sentimental effect, but proved that by pooling arrangements vast masses of securities could be cared for.

It must be confessed that, despite easy assertions to the contrary, mortgages and real-estate securities are not necessarily in such a different position from good bonds. While not quoted from day to day or subject to speculative fluctuation, mortgages have been just as hard to sell except at sacrifices as other securities. But perhaps more than most other classes of investments, well-chosen first mortgages on real estate are safe as to their interest. The fact that no visible or open decline takes place in a real-estate mortgage is a certain advantage in troubled times because the slaughtering of bond and stock prices may seriously affect the credit of the corporation on which they are based.

During September it was the conviction of officers of the great title and mortgage com-

panies in one of the largest cities that persons who had to borrow on mortgage on October 1 would have to pay 1 per cent. higher interest even on the best of security. Indeed, at this writing it is the general belief that higher interest rates will prevail in every direction. If such is the case, owners of fixed interest-bearing bonds will see lower prices for their holdings, and owners of mortgages will realize less if they are forced to sell.

Professor Irving Fisher, the great authority on interest rates, frankly declares that "investment securities are and will be a drug on the market." Corporation officers and bankers have expressed the same idea in more guarded terms, and acted upon it. How long such a condition will last, or what unforeseen counterbalancing influences may come into play are matters of guesswork. One conclusion alone is clear: The owner of securities whose earnings are ample should try to hold on and not sell until the situation has changed. If he does not sell at all and "sits tight," interest will be paid as usual, and when security dealings are openly resumed there will be unusual opportunities to average down paper losses by purchasing sound bonds, which will probably then be offered at low prices.

## TYPICAL INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

### No. 582. WAR AND THE MARKETS FOR SECURITIES AND COMMODITIES

Will you be good enough to explain, through the columns of your magazine, why a war like the one now going on in Europe should affect the financial world and the markets for stocks, commodities, etc.?

To explain in detail just how the European war has thrown into a state of utmost confusion all of the world's markets for securities, commodities, etc., would make a very long story. Various phases of the situation have been, and will continue to be, discussed from time to time in the pages of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS. For instance, in the September issue of the magazine, under the heading of "Financial News for the Investor," was an explanation of the necessity for closing the New York Stock Exchange, and in fact all of the other market-places for securities in this country as well as those in Europe. To refer again briefly to the underlying reasons, it was because our facilities were immediately recognized as entirely inadequate for absorbing in this country the tremendous amount of American securities that are owned in Europe not only by individual investors, but by the great banks and other monied institutions, all of which began to press their holdings for sale. The total amount is estimated at over six billion dollars, which is the equivalent of a five or six years' supply of the new stocks and bonds that our corporations find it necessary to sell to finance their expansion and development,—a supply of which scarcely more than three-quarters would be expected to be taken up by our own investing public in normal times. Further-

more, for all of the securities sold in the American markets by foreign investors at a time like this we would have been expected to pay in gold; and with a money crisis confronting the world one of the very necessary things for us to do was to safeguard this country's supply of gold, which as you doubtless know, is the foundation of our monetary system. As for the commodities markets, they have been affected in different ways. The markets for such staples as wheat and sugar quickly felt the influence of an increased demand on the part of Europe for the provisioning of the enormous armies. On the other hand, the market for cotton, which is one of this country's most important staple crops, was adversely affected because of the difficulties put in the way of getting shipments off to Europe, where most of our cotton is manufactured into cloth; and because of the fact that the manufacturing industry over there has been crippled by the war. These suggestions touch in a most superficial way upon a very complex question, which, as we have intimated, this magazine will undertake to discuss from time to time in enough detail to prove of service to business men and investors.

### No. 583. THE INVESTMENT POSITION OF HIGH-GRADE PREFERRED STOCKS

I have \$2000 to invest. Would like to obtain a return of 6 per cent. with reasonable safety. My plan is to purchase five shares each of four different stocks, thus dividing the risk. Will you kindly advise me which four of the following would be preferable: Baltimore & Ohio preferred, American Tobacco Preferred, American Smelting preferred, Chicago, Milwaukee

& St. Paul preferred, National Lead preferred, Union Pacific preferred, Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe preferred, United States Rubber first preferred, and American Sugar preferred.

You doubtless know that there are difficulties in the way of investing now in standard listed securities such as those you name. One may buy only for cash, and on the basis of the prices which prevailed at the close of the New York Stock Exchange on July 31 last. For the stocks in question these prices still stand: Baltimore & Ohio preferred, 72½, to yield about 5.50 per cent.; American Tobacco preferred (new), 104, to yield about 5.70 per cent.; American Smelting preferred, 97½, to yield about 7.15 per cent.; St. Paul preferred, 130, to yield about 5.38 per cent.; National Lead preferred, 106½, to yield about 6.60 per cent.; Union Pacific preferred, 79, to yield about 5.00 per cent.; Atchison preferred, 97¾, to yield about 5.10 per cent.; U. S. Rubber first preferred, 97, to yield about 8.20 per cent.; American Sugar preferred, 108, to yield about 6.50 per cent. It may be said that the dividend positions of these various stocks appear to be very well entrenched. All of them have large amounts of dividend-paying common stocks following, whose positions would, of course, be first affected in case it became necessary for any of the corporations in question to resort to unusual measures to conserve cash resources through the period of financial unsettlement that has been brought about by the European war. The following figures, indicating the margin of safety for the dividends on each of the preferred stocks you have under consideration, should prove helpful in making your selection from the list when you are ready to invest:

	Rate of Div.	Earned on Pfd. 1913.
Baltimore & Ohio.....	4	22.65
American Tobacco .....	6	27.42
American Smelting .....	7	19.51
St. Paul .....	7	15.60
National Lead .....	7	10.09
Union Pacific .....	4	36.94
Atchison .....	5	19.40
U. S. Rubber 1st.....	8	12.43
American Sugar .....	7	11.31

On the whole, this list of stocks is of high investment merit. And disregarding the probabilities of temporary price changes of perhaps unusual proportions upon the resumption of general trading in listed securities, we believe selections from it ought, in the long run, to prove satisfactory.

#### No. 584. MISSOURI PACIFIC REORGANIZATION PLANS DEFERRED

What do you think of Missouri Pacific stock? Would it be advisable to hold shares bought around 20, and to buy more at the prevailing price?

We have referred to the Missouri Pacific situation so frequently during the last few months that the continued inquiry about the stock in recent correspondence is somewhat of a surprise. It is necessary to repeat that holders of these shares ought to make up their minds that sooner or later they will be called upon to meet a substantial assessment to help out in the reorganization of the company which it has been decided must be effected in order to put it in sound condition financially. For some time previous to the outbreak of the war, plans had been on foot for such a reorganization, and it was expected that they might be matured during the early part of 1915. But they have had to be abandoned indefinitely because of the strain that has been put upon the market for capital, and it cannot be

stated when they are likely to be taken up again. Under such circumstances, it is almost needless to say that Missouri Pacific stock cannot be regarded as an investment in any sense of the word, and that its purchase for any other purpose than a gamble on the future cannot be recommended. The stock last sold on the New York Stock Exchange at \$8 a share, and that is the price which is now being used as a basis for transactions in the private cash market that is being maintained in a limited way during the suspension of public trading in listed securities. Assuming that you might be able to find a purchaser at this price, the question of the advisability of your making such a sacrifice on your holdings of the stock would depend upon the amount to which the total loss would foot up, and upon your preparedness and willingness to meet sometime the practically inevitable assessment.

#### No. 585. PENNSYLVANIA AND NORTHERN PACIFIC STOCKS

I am thinking of buying outright ten shares of Pennsylvania at 107 and ten shares of Northern Pacific at 97, as quoted on the last day of open Stock Exchange. Would you consider these stocks safe for a rise within several years, and reasonably sure of dividends at, say, 5 per cent. meanwhile?

Your question suggests that you have taken into account what we should be inclined to call the extreme possibilities of the effects of the unprecedented situation created by the European war upon the fundamental positions of these two stocks. It is, of course, impossible to predict accurately what effect a long continuation of present financial conditions would have upon railroads like Pennsylvania and Northern Pacific, but it seems safe to say that only very extreme emergency would compel either road to put its stock on a dividend basis below 5 per cent. We cannot undertake to prophesy about future stock market prices, but may go so far as to say that the two stocks in question represent a general class of securities of that type, which in normal times ought to sell substantially higher. In buying stocks of any kind, however, at a period so uncertain from every point of view, one ought to take into consideration the possibility that it may take a long time to reestablish values on anywhere near a normal basis.

#### No. 586. THE SAFEST SECURITIES FOR SMALL INVESTORS

What is your opinion as to the future of stocks and bonds? What do you consider a good buy at this time from the standpoint of safety for the small investor?

While it is impossible to express in definite figures the effects of the European war on the prices of bonds and stocks, we believe that a decided readjustment in values all along the line is certain to result. How far the readjustment will go will depend largely upon the success of the co-operative efforts that are being made among the banks and investment houses to insure its being a gradual and orderly one, rather than nervous and panicky. The most serious problem in the present situation is, of course, in connection with the position of securities of the listed class with broad, free markets. In connection with unlisted securities of relatively narrow and quiet markets, such as municipal bonds, underlying public utility bonds, direct first mortgages on real estate, or bonds secured by such mortgages, the problem is proving much easier to solve. Those are the types of securities to which we think the average investor will do well to confine his attention almost entirely for a time.